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NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL

MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA

THESIS

SOURCES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM IN SOUTH KOREA

by

Young Hong

December 2008

Thesis Co-Advisors:

Jeffrey W. Knopf
Robert J. Weiner

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SOURCES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM IN SOUTH KOREA

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

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ABSTRACT

The goal of this thesis is to identify the causes of increasing anti-Americanism in South Korea. To accomplish this, three areas will be researched. First, the transformation from an authoritarian regime to a democratic government in the 1990s has provided previously unheard of democratic freedom in South Korean society. Second, the perception of inequality in the Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) and the civilian crimes committed by U.S. military personnel, since the Korean War have fueled anti-American sentiments. Lastly, the increase in anti-Americanism throughout the world since the U.S. invasion of Iraq and the declaration of North Korea as one of the “Axis of Evil” by the United States have influenced anti-Americanism in South Korea. This thesis will evaluate the role of these three independent variables in the increasing anti-Americanism in South Korea.

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. ANTI-AMERICANISM

Anti-Americanism in South Korea has been increasing and has become most visible in the past two decades. The most recent anti-American sentiment derived from the free trade agreement between the United States and South Korea in spring 2008. This trade agreement includes the importation of U.S. beef into South Korea. Fear of “Mad Cow Disease,” the disapproval of the current South Korean President by South Korean citizens, and denunciation by the opposition parties in the national assembly led to another round of protests by thousands throughout South Korea. The last protests of this size occurred in 2002 when two school girls were struck and killed by a United States military vehicle. Anti-Americanism in South Korea is at its highest intensity, and there is little indication that the situation will improve in the foreseeable future.

Survey research found that overall, in the event of war between the U.S. and North Korea, 2 percent of the population would prefer to side with North Korea.¹ In the rural regions of South Korea, such as the city of Kwangju, almost 46 percent would prefer to take the North Korean side. The city of Kwangju is considered the most left-leaning region in the Cholla province. Amongst the younger generation, born between the years of 1980 and 1989, 65 percent would prefer to side with North Korea in the event of war between the U.S. and North Korea.² The last statistic amongst the younger generation is the most alarming, because the younger generation born between those years makes up the majority of South Korea’s military conscripts.

Democratization of the South Korean government began in the late 1980s and continued throughout the 1990s. During the democratization, a process of “digging out secrets and atrocities” unfolded in South Korea. Revisiting past atrocities like the No Gun Ri incident during the Korean War and the 1980 Kwangju Student Massacre led to

¹ House Committee on International Relations House of Representatives, *United States-Republic of Korea Alliance: An Alliance at Risk?* September 2006: 66.

² House Committee International Relations 2006, 66.

fierce protesting against the United States. Also, a brutal murder of a female bar worker by a U.S. soldier caused massive civil protests against the United States military in 1992. In 2002, one of the most regretful incidents that caused anti-American protests in South Korea occurred when a U.S. Army truck struck and killed two school girls. Several hundred thousand South Korean citizens took to the streets to protest against the U.S. military, registering one of the largest public demonstrations in South Korea. After these incidents, anti-Americanism in South Korea leaped to a new level. The media, government, and multiple anti-American activists inflated all incidents involving the United States in South Korea. According to a Congressional Research Service report in 2007, “anti-American sentiment has emerged as a major factor in South Korean politics. At the popular level, South Korean fears of North Korean attack are declining, prompting growing questioning of the need for U.S. forces in South Korea.”³

The goal of this thesis is to identify the causes of increasing anti-Americanism in South Korea. To accomplish this, three areas will be researched. First, the transformation from an authoritarian regime to a democratic government in the 1990s has provided previously unheard of democratic freedom in South Korean society. Second, the perception of inequality in the Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) and the civilian crimes committed by U.S. military personnel since the Korean War have fueled anti-American sentiments. Lastly, the increase in anti-Americanism throughout the world since the U.S. invasion of Iraq and the declaration of North Korea as one of the “Axis of Evil” by the United States have influenced anti-Americanism in South Korea. This thesis will evaluate the role of these three independent variables in the increasing anti-Americanism in South Korea. The increase of anti-Americanism is prevalent in all parts of the globe, mainly driven by United States foreign policy since the invasion of Iraq in 2003. In South Korea, a combination of U.S. foreign policy, SOFA related incidents and democratization of the South Korean government led to the lowest approval rating of the United States in 2003.

³ Larry A. Niksch and Library of Congress. *Korea U.S.-Korean Relations Issues*. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress 2007: 20.

Favorable Views of the U.S.								
	1999/ 2000	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Britain	83	75	70	58	55	56	51	53
France	62	62	42	37	43	39	39	42
Spain	50	--	38	--	41	23	34	33
Germany	78	60	45	38	42	37	30	31
Poland	86	79	--	--	62	--	61	68
Russia	37	61	37	46	52	43	41	46
Turkey	52	30	15	30	23	12	9	12
Lebanon	--	36	27	--	42	--	47	51
Egypt	--	--	--	--	--	30	21	22
Jordan	--	25	1	5	21	15	20	19
South Korea	58	52	46	--	--	--	58	70
India	--	66	--	--	71	56	59	66
Japan	77	72	--	--	--	63	61	50
Australia	--	--	59	--	--	--	--	46
China	--	--	--	--	42	47	34	41
Indonesia	75	61	15	--	38	30	29	37
Pakistan	23	10	13	21	23	27	15	19
Brazil	56	51	35	--	--	--	44	47
Mexico	68	64	--	--	--	--	56	47
Argentina	50	34	--	--	--	--	16	22
Tanzania	--	53	--	--	--	--	46	65
Nigeria	46	76	61	--	--	62	70	64
South Africa	--	65	--	--	--	--	--	60

1999/2000 survey trends provided by the Office of Research,
U.S. Department of State.

Figure 1. U.S. image slips in 2002 to 2003. (Pew Research)

Figure 1 indicates the decline in U.S. image from 2002 to 2003 in various parts of the globe. Specifically, in South Korea, a lower percentage of the population had a favorable view of the United States in 2002 than in most other U.S. allies. U.S. approval actually fell below 50 percent in South Korea in 2003, the year of the Iraq war. The U.S. image has rebounded recently, but the factors that caused the U.S. image to decline could produce another rise in anti-American sentiment, so it is important to understand the reasons why so many South Koreans developed a negative image of the United States.

B. IMPORTANCE

The U.S./Republic of Korea (ROK) alliance is valuable to both countries. Therefore, it is important to prevent the relationship from being damaged. Due to the Cold War and with the influence and support of the United States, South Korea was transformed into one of the most successful countries in the world economically and politically. South Korea was able to achieve its rapid economic development under the security umbrella provided by the United States in East Asia. Today, the United States is the second largest trading partner with South Korea and South Korea is the seventh largest trading partner with the United States.⁴ The U.S./ROK security alliance began during the Korean War and was maintained throughout the Cold War. During the Vietnam War, the South Korean government provided more than 250,000 soldiers, thus becoming the second largest outside military that participated in the Vietnam War after the United States.⁵ In the current Global War on Terrorism, South Korean military forces are the third largest after the United States and the United Kingdom forces stationed in Iraq. It is no understatement that the United States is a very important ally to South Korea and that South Korea has an equally important role as an ally to the U.S.

It is crucial to identify the reasons for increasing anti-Americanism in South Korea, especially with respect to the future of the alliance between the two countries. This deep-rooted alliance between the two countries since the Korean War may become less meaningful as democracy continues to settle in South Korea and as more and more

⁴ House Committee International Relations 2006, 7.

⁵ Balbina Y Hwang. "South Korean Troops to Iraq: A Boost for U.S.-ROK Relations," Heritage Foundation, February 13, 2004. <http://www.heritage.org/Research/AsiaandthePacific/wm427.cfm>.

South Koreans see North Korea as non-threatening. Identifying the core events and incidents that have occurred since the Korean War will provide a better understanding of the increasing South Korean anti-Americanism for both Koreans and Americans. Many Americans do not fully understand or appreciate the importance to Koreans of the events that have transpired or the reasons for increasing anti-American sentiment in South Korea. Therefore, it is important to identify the reasons and strive to identify, explain, and resolve ongoing problems between the two countries.

Anti-American sentiment may not be the only factor damaging the alliance between the United States and South Korea, but its potential to undermine the alliance has begun to alarm policy makers in the United States and South Korea as well. For example, on September 27, 2006, in the United States House of Representatives, the International Relations committee held a hearing on this matter, “United States-Republic of Korea Alliance: an Alliance at Risk?” This hearing illustrated that “South Korea’s anti-American sentiment is eroding the United States and Republic of Korea alliance’s base of political support in both countries, and if the trend continues it will soon make the alliance politically unsustainable.”⁶ At present, there are several proposed stances in the restructuring of the United States military forces in South Korea and the rest of Asia. According to the United States Pacific Command, the United States has 300,000 men and women in uniform in the Pacific theater. Under the command of United States Forces Korea (USFK), there are 70 active installations and 28,000 U.S. military personnel assigned to South Korea.⁷ Some members of the U.S. Congress support the neo-isolationist view of restructuring and withdrawing U.S. forces throughout the world especially after the fall of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War.⁸ Since the end of the Korean War, Washington has decreased the total number of its military personnel stationed in South Korea due to needs of other international commitments. Additionally, wartime operational control of military forces will be transferred to South Korean leaders by the year 2012. The combination of neo-isolationist sentiment in the United States,

⁶ House Committee International Relations, 2006, 64-66.

⁷ United States Pacific Command <http://www.pacom.mil/about/pacom.shtml> , October 2008.

⁸ Kevin Phillips. “Troops must come home to win the economic war defense: The next battle is an economic conflict.” *Los Angeles Times*, March 4, 1990.

increasing anti-American sentiment in South Korea and the restructuring of military forces in South Korea may radically reshape the overall U.S. security posture on the Korean Peninsula and in East Asia.

East Asia is one of the most important regions for the United States. The world's most powerful military powers are in this region: China, Russia, and the United States. The world's largest economies are in this region as well: Japan, China and the United States (with exception of Germany, third largest economy). If the United States were to re-align and or withdraw its military forces from the Korean Peninsula, this would lead to a significant shift in balance of power, possibly leading to arms races including nuclear proliferation in North East Asia. STRATFOR research states,

Regardless of troop levels, U.S. forces do not remain in South Korea because the peninsula offers some strategic advantage. In any conflict with China or Japan, the last place the United States wants ground troops is on the Korean Peninsula. For one thing, the United States has no intention of ever engaging China on the ground in its own neighborhood. Moreover, the peninsula is literally surrounded by China and Japan, which would make South Korea eminently vulnerable in a larger regional conflict and difficult to supply and sustain if China or Japan opposed it militarily. Instead, U.S. troops are there as a "trip-wire" force to deter any such conflict in the first place and especially to prevent South Korea from becoming an attractive target of opportunity.⁹

The presence of the United States military in Northeast Asia has provided stability and security in the region since the end of the Second World War. And the situation is not much different today with the rise of China's economy and military, in addition to Japan's latent military capabilities. The Korean Peninsula has always been referred to as a "shrimp between the two whales" China and Japan. South Korea may be the fuse for an unprecedented shift in balance of power in the region. The implications for regional stability are another reason why preserving the ROK/U.S. relationship is important.

⁹ South Korea: Imperatives of a U.S. Presence. *Stratfor* (July 17 2008).

C. PROBLEMS AND HYPOTHESIS

This thesis will consider three possible sources of anti-Americanism in South Korea: the transition to democracy, incidents involving U.S. military personnel in South Korea, and disagreements with overall U.S. foreign policy. The transformation from an authoritarian government to a democratic government in the 1990s has offered democratic freedom to South Korean society and thus the freedom for expression. The end of the Cold War reduced tension among the major powers and lessened the importance of a U.S. military posture on the Korean Peninsula. Democratization allowed for the opportunity to elect civilian presidents, Kim Young Sam and Kim Dae Jung. It was under these two presidents in the 1990s that anti-Americanism began to rise sharply. Even though numerous crimes were committed by the U.S. military during the authoritarian regime, anti-American sentiment was not easily expressed by the public or it was easily diffused by the South Korean government. However, the democratic government in the 1990s did not prevent public demonstrations against the United States. Consequently, anti-Americanism was widely publicized and public demonstrations multiplied.

The second possible reason for anti-American sentiment in South Korea can be illustrated through comparison with Japan, mainly due to the presence of the United States military. Since the occupation of Japan following the Second World War, “U.S. military personnel in Japan have committed numerous crimes, including murder, rape, and theft.”¹⁰ These are the crimes that have triggered anti-Americanism in Japan and in South Korea as well. Both Japan and South Korea are democratic countries, practice Buddhist/Confucian values, host large United States military forces, and have achieved economic prosperity under the security umbrella of the United States. However, the basis of the alliance of the United States and Japan differs from South Korea. Japan was an enemy of the United States during the Second World War, and Japan’s constitution was written by the United States. On the other hand, the United States and South Korea were allies during the Korean War. With regards to the foundation of the alliance, it would be

¹⁰ Alexander Cooley. *Base Politics : Democratic Change and the U.S. Military Overseas*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2008: 182.

logical that anti-Americanism in Japan would be more intense compare to South Korea. Rather, anti-American sentiment appears to be more intense in South Korea. Additionally, the difference in the justice system between the United States and Korean values leads to another problem. In the eyes of the South Koreans, the United States justice system is not proportional to the crimes committed by Americans on foreign soil. Therefore, if the two justice systems were to be more balanced, would anti-American sentiment in South Korea become less fierce?

Lastly, increasing anti-Americanism in South Korea is influenced by the foreign policies of the United States and the international events that have been unfolding since the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Initially, global support for the fight against terrorism was unquestionable. However, the arduous battle of the Global War on Terrorism by the United States and its allies and the public disapproval of the actions by the Bush administration have certainly fueled and influenced anti-Americanism. Anti-Americanism throughout the world reached a peak after the Iraq invasion. Just how much do international events influence anti-Americanism in South Korea? Possibly, the international factors outweigh the internal factors in South Korea as an explanation for increasing anti-American sentiment on the Korean Peninsula. Without the U.S. policy on global war against terrorism and the increase in worldwide anti-Americanism, would anti-Americanism in South Korea be as fierce?

D. PRO-AMERICAN SENTIMENT

Anti-American sentiment in South Korea has been increasing and it is a growing concern in South Korea. However, despite the negative tone of anti-Americanism, it is important to understand that the United States is still the most favorable country in South Korea.¹¹ Pro-American sentiments are greater than anti-American sentiments in South Korea, except in 2003 indicated on Figure 1. When North Korea crossed the 38th parallel and invaded South Korea in June 1950, in order to stop the spread of communism under the premise of the “Containment Policy,” the United States and the United Nations

¹¹ Samuel S. Kim. *The International Relations of Northeast Asia*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2003: 45.

entered the Korean War to aid South Korea. After several years of harsh battles, all sides signed a ceasefire agreement on July 27, 1953. Since then, the presence of the U.S. military forces and light outfit of United Nation forces in South Korea has stabilized the region politically and militarily as the division of the two Koreas still exists. The 38th parallel, known as the demilitarized zone (DMZ) that divides the Korean Peninsula in two, is still one of the most heavily armed and guarded areas in the world. Following the Korean War, “the United States has committed to maintaining peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula and agreed in the 1954 ROK/U.S. Mutual Defense Treaty to help South Korea defend itself from external aggression.”¹²

As a result, pro-American sentiments have remained a strong current in South Korea over half a century and it is still greater in percentage compared to the anti-American sentiment. The United States has been part of South Korean affairs since the end of the Second World War. South Koreans have idolized the United States. South Koreans desire to emulate the American way of life in democratic politics, a capitalist economy, and human rights. Many South Koreans still want to speak the English language, to attend American universities, to travel to the United States, and to live in the United States of America. American soft power resonates throughout South Korea. The historical tendency toward pro-American opinion makes it important to understand what led to the shift toward a negative image of the United States.

E. THESIS OVERVIEW

The United States and Republic of Korea’s security alliance has been based on the premise of the North Korean threat since the Korean War and throughout the Cold War. However, now that the Cold War is in our history, perception of a decreasing threat from North Korea has led to declining South Korean support for U.S. military forces stationed in South Korea and the alliance that exists between the two countries. Throughout the Cold War, Washington supported South Korea’s authoritarian leaders for the stability of the Korean Peninsula. Consequently, the support for authoritarian leaders has become a source of anti-Americanism in South Korea. Anti-Americanism ideology in South Korea

¹² U.S. State Department <http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itps/0198/iipe/pj18fact.htm>.

was born in the 1980s. During the democratic transition in the 1990s, anti-Americanism in South Korea began to spread among South Korean citizens. In the millennium, anti-Americanism has fully matured and it arises quickly from policy disagreements between the United States and South Korea. Therefore, historical study of the anti-Americanism is crucial to understand the sources of the increase in anti-Americanism.

Chapter II of this thesis will examine the origin of anti-Americanism in South Korea, beginning with the authoritarian regimes up to the democratization of South Korea in the 1990s. The transition from an authoritarian regime to a democratic government in South Korea has greatly influenced anti-Americanism amongst the South Korean people. Without the transition to a democratic government, anti-Americanism in South Korea would still exist, but it would be easily controlled or diffused by the government. However, post democratic transition of the South Korean government, anti-Americanism is easily expressed by the public, widely advertised by the media, and extensively used by the progressive government for political gain.

Chapter III of this thesis will focus on the United States' Status of Forces Agreements (SOFA) in Japan and South Korea. One of the sources of anti-Americanism in both Japan and South Korea is the perception of inequalities of the SOFA. Chapter three will also illustrate some historical problems of stationing U.S. military forces on foreign soil. Civil disputes, crimes, and conflicts between the local citizens and the U.S. military are common occurrences where U.S. military bases are located. To mitigate these problems, the SOFA is set forth between the United States and the host countries. Case studies on SOFA incidents in South Korea and Japan will display the potential problems of the cultural differences as well. Balancing the two judicial systems and understanding the jurisprudence of other cultures may be a key factor in resolving anti-American sentiments.

Chapter IV of this thesis will examine United States foreign policy, the pre-emptive strategy. Joseph Nye would argue that the United States effort to combat global war on terrorism has induced too much "hard power" and not enough "soft power" since the September 11 attacks. After the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center, the United States foreign policy shifted towards pre-emption, and this increased anti-

American sentiment in various parts of the globe. The aggressive nature of the pre-emptive strategy has affected the relationship between the United States and South Korea. After the election of President Kim Dae Jung in 1998 from the most left-leaning party in the South Korean government, and the election of President Bush in 2000 from the Republican Party in the U.S. government, South Korea and the United States experienced the most difficulties on North Korean issues. Although, South Korea is one of the biggest advocates on combating global terrorism, when Washington declared North Korea as one of the “axis of evil” and accused it of supporting terrorism, it greatly fueled hatred towards the United States from the liberal parties of the South Korean government and the South Korean people. The relationship between North and South Korea is a sensitive issue. On the surface, North and South Korea are completely different and both countries are skeptical of one another. However, beneath the surface, North and South Korea share same history, language and lineage. Therefore, any criticisms or actions against North Korea will cause reactions from South Korea.

The closing chapter of this thesis will illustrate the effects of anti-Americanism in South Korea. In addition to the democratization of the South Korean government, SOFA related incidents, and U.S. foreign policy, South Korea’s increasing capabilities and the increasing international commitments by the United States are another contributing factor for reshaping the ROK/US alliance. As a result, further reduction of U.S. forces, U.S. base relocations, and transfer of wartime operational control are in process. The final chapter will also display the degree of anti-Americanism in South Korea. South Korea’s anti-Americanism may appear intense, but it is not drastically different from the anti-Americanism that is present throughout the world. As South Korea becomes more and more independent, anti-Americanism in South Korea will continue to exist, as it reflects the maturity of the South Korean democracy. The potential problems that may arise due to anti-Americanism in South Korea may be resolved by lessening the gap in cultural differences and promoting the national interests of both the United States and South Korea.

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II. DEMOCRATIZATION AND THE BIRTH OF ANTI-AMERICANISM

A. INTRODUCTION

The transition from an authoritarian regime to a democratic government in South Korea has greatly influenced anti-Americanism amongst the South Korean people. This is mainly due to the tenets of democracy itself: freedom of expression and the freedom of speech. Without the transition to a democratic government, anti-Americanism in South Korea would still exist, but it would be easily controlled or diffused by the government. However, since the democratic transition of the South Korean government, anti-Americanism is easily expressed by the public, widely advertised by the media, and extensively used by the government for political gain.

This chapter will review significant events during the authoritarian regime of South Korea that laid the groundwork for later anti-Americanism. The “No Gun Ri” incident by the U.S. soldiers during the Korean War and the 1980 Kwangju Student Massacre by the South Korean government are especially important sources of anti-Americanism in South Korea. The repressive and brutal leadership of the South Korean government led to a strong push for democracy by the South Korean people. During this transition from an authoritarian regime to democratic government the role of the government and the media in South Korea has greatly contributed to the increase in anti-Americanism.

B. END OF AUTHORITARIANISM

1. President Park Chung Hee

Since the establishment of Republic of Korea (ROK) in 1948, all of the South Korean presidents exercised authoritarian rule until the late 1980s. The most influential and notorious authoritarian president was President Park Chung Hee. President Park was the President of South Korea for eighteen years. He came into power in 1961 with a

military coup and was assassinated by the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) in 1979. President Park's legacy is often overshadowed by his long and brutal authoritarian leadership style. Under President Park, South Koreans were forced to sacrifice democratic freedom and human rights were neglected. As for President Park's legacy, South Korea industrialized rapidly with an export oriented economy and became one of the most successful countries in Asia. The combination of the authoritarian regime, the emergence of the Cold War, and the United States aid to South Korea were the greatest internal and external factors that led to the rapid economic development of South Korea according to Stubbs.¹³ South Korea's rapid economic development is often referred to as one of the "East Asian Miracle Economies" or the "East Asian Tigers."

The authoritarian leadership of President Park was necessary as the internal driver of South Korea's rapid economic development. South Korea needed this pseudo-totalitarian approach to stabilize its government and to develop its economy. Unfortunately, this fits a golden straight jacket example that Rodrik describes, "nation state, deep economic integration, and democracy; these are mutually incompatible. Your economy grows but democratic politics shrinks."¹⁴ President Park and the South Korean government focused heavily on the nation state development and deep economic integration for the stability of South Korea, due to the escalation of the Cold War and the threat of North Korea. By doing so, democratic politics and freedom of the South Korean people were curtailed. Koreans have long fought for freedom and independence. They finally gained its independence after the Second World War, by being liberated from the Japanese and repelling communist aggression half a decade later. The South Korean people have long desired democracy and freedom. Therefore, when the Cold War came to an end, authoritarian regimes were quickly discarded and gave way to a new

¹³ Richard Stubbs. *Rethinking Asia's economic miracle: The political economy of war, prosperity, and crisis*. Houndmills, Basingstoke. Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2005, 15-17.

¹⁴ Michael M. Weinstein. *Globalization: What's New*. New York: Columbia University Press 2005, 204-205.

democratic government. As a result, “political restrictions were relaxed and the acceptable ideological spectrum broadened, Koreans gained new civil rights and political freedoms.”¹⁵

2. Democratization in 1990s

President Kim Young Sam, who was elected in 1992, was the first civilian president when South Korea began to shift away from an authoritarian regime. Chung In Moon notes that, “President Kim Young Sam encouraged diversification and democratization of policymaking. The new government highlighted the importance of human rights, environmental protection and social welfare.”¹⁶ In addition, Katherine Moon explains that the transition towards democratic leadership in the 1990s spawned a series of “digging out secrets and atrocities” that were hidden during the authoritarian rule in South Korea.¹⁷ Under the democratic presidencies of Kim Young Sam and Kim Dae Jung, the government and independent organizations actively investigated the 1980 Kwangju Student Massacre, the No Gun Ri incident during the Korean War (involving the shooting of innocent civilians by U.S. soldiers), kidnappings and assassinations of government officials during the authoritarian rule of President Park Chung Hee and President Chun Doo Hwan, and the use of “comfort women” by Japanese soldiers during the Second World War. The outcome of these investigations heavily fueled and escalated hatred towards Americans and Japanese. During the authoritarian rule in South Korea, these events and incidents were highly classified and government information was unobtainable to the local public, but when democracy began to flourish these atrocities became public.

In addition, during the democratic transition, the brutal murder of a female bar worker by a U.S. soldier in 1992 caused massive civil protests which were organized by women activists, the taxi drivers’ union, the teachers’ union, and university students

¹⁵ Chang Hun Oh and Celeste Arrington. Democratization and Changing Anti-American Sentiments in South Korea. *ASIAN SURVEY* 2007: 330.

¹⁶ John G. Ikenberry and Chung-In Moon. *The United States and northeast Asia: Debates, issues, and new order*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield 2008: 167.

¹⁷ Katherine Moon. South Korea-U.S. relations. *Asian Perspective* 2004: 42.

against the United States military in South Korea.¹⁸ During the previous authoritarian regimes in South Korea, public protests against the United States military were prohibited and punishable under the National Security Laws of South Korea. However, during the transition towards the democratic government in the 1990s, these strict policies were lifted, creating a possibility for political mobilization around opposition to the U.S. military presence. As Katherine Moon observes, “decentralization of government functions and authority emboldened local citizens and politicians and challenged the central government’s long monopoly of power especially in the area of national security and foreign policy.”¹⁹ Today, registered protests are held daily against the U.S. military in South Korea. In some cases, South Korean protests against the United States have resulted in record number turnouts; up to five hundred thousand people hit the streets in recent protests against the U.S. and South Korea’s free trade agreement permitting U.S. beef imports into South Korea.²⁰ A reporter who witnessed the most recent protesting in Seoul reported:

It's like a festival. Protesters are using a laser projector, some people are wearing interesting costumes. People are holding impromptu concerts complete with guitars and violins, singing and dancing, a party atmosphere. One might think it was some kind of mass picnic, until you spot the riot police standing stiff, waiting for a crackdown order. With some Koreans mistrustful of mainstream media reports on the demonstration, they've taken matters into their own hands by broadcasting and reporting themselves using high-speed wireless Internet. This is South Korea's 'postmodern' demonstrations.²¹

Post democratic transition, the South Korean people are free to express and practice their democratic freedom even in mass civil protests. The people in South Korea have taken public protesting to a new level. During the authoritarian regime, this type of protesting would have caused violent retaliation by the government to suppress the protesters.

¹⁸ Moon 2004, 43.

¹⁹ Moon 2004, 44-45.

²⁰ Sunny Lee. Party time at South Korea’s protest 2.0. *Asia Times*. June 13, 2008.

²¹ Sunny Lee. Party time at South Korea’s protest 2.0. *Asia Times*. June 13, 2008.

C. HISTORY OF ANTI-AMERICANISM

1. No Gun Ri Incident

No Gun Ri is a small village located in Chungcheon province of South Korea. In July of 1950, during the early days of the Korean War, U.S. military forces opened fire on a group of South Korean refugees at a railroad in No Gun Ri village. Approximately four hundred civilians were killed, mostly women and children. At the time of the shootings, the U.S. commanders were concerned that North Korean soldiers were disguised among the refugees, and issued orders for the American soldiers to fire on civilians approaching their line of protection. For almost a half a century, the No Gun Ri incident was unknown and silenced from the survivors who witnessed their loved ones being killed by the U.S. soldiers. To the South Koreans, this silencing of witnesses or lack of information about the No Gun Ri incident by the United States military has appeared non-cooperative or even a conspiracy.²²

During the democratic transition in South Korea, the No Gun Ri incident resurfaced. The survivors and the relatives of the No Gun Ri incident filed a petition to the U.S. Embassy in Seoul in order to seek recognition and compensation. “However, it was not until a few years later when the Associated Press published a detailed account of the No Gun Ri incident in September 1999 when the United States Army agreed to conduct a serious investigation.”²³ This is another source of anti-American sentiment in South Korea. The petition from the survivors of the No Gun Ri incident did not grab the attention from the officials of the United States. Rather, a media headline press around the world pushed the United States to investigate the No Gun Ri incident. The outcome of the investigation by the United States military revealed that the soldiers at the time of the incident were not properly trained, and “the soldiers fired to control the refugees’ movements or because they believed that they had received small-arms fire from those locations.”²⁴ Following the investigation in 2001, President Clinton offered a deep regret

²² Regret for no gun ri. 2001. *The Washington Post*, January 14, 2001.

²³ Regret for no gun ri. 2001. *The Washington Post*, January 14, 2001.

²⁴ Regret for no gun ri. 2001. *The Washington Post*, January 14, 2001.

instead of a full apology on behalf of the United States. The reason was that the investigation could not prove the intent to kill the refugees as a deliberate act by the U.S. soldiers during the No Gun Ri incident. No Gun Ri survivors and many South Koreans were not satisfied and angry at the outcome of the investigations. Public awareness of the No Gun Ri incident was more fuel for the roaring anti-Americanism in South Korea during the democratic transition.

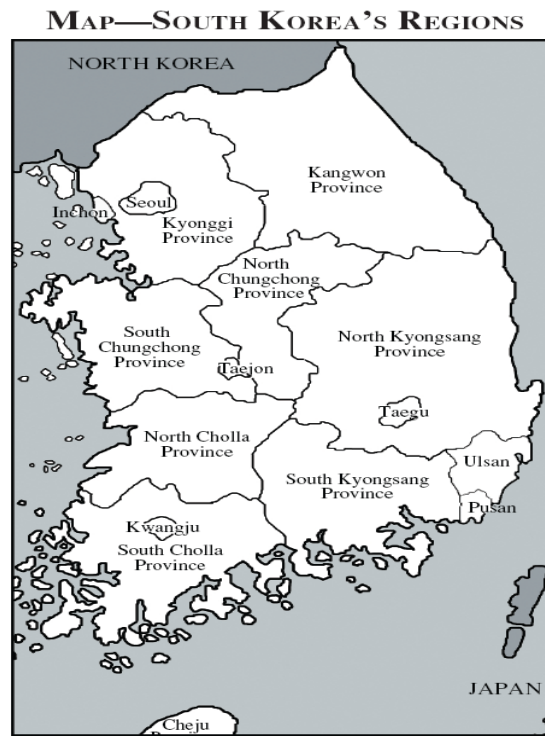


Figure 2. Map of South Korea Provinces Cholla and Chungcheong in West and South West. (From Hahm Chaibong)

2. 1980 Kwangju Massacre

After the assassination of President Park Chung Hee in 1979, the South Korean government was in political turmoil with increasing demands for constitutional reform and increasing pressure from opposition parties. South Korea's economic growth was dipping below double digits while inflation and the price of commodities were increasing

in addition to a looming North Korean threat.²⁵ This was the setting prior to the military coup by an Army General, Chun Doo Hwan, in an attempt to re-stabilize South Korea. Following the military coup by General Chun and his loyal supporters, many South Korean citizens opposed and protested against another authoritarian regime. South Koreans desired and cried out for a democratic government. Thousands of students and civilians throughout South Korea took to the streets and protested against the military government. The most turbulent region was in the city of Kwangju. To suppress the massive protest, General Chun and the South Korean army took control of Kwangju city and killed many citizens. No one knows the exact number of people killed during this uprising (estimates range from hundreds to thousands, mostly students). The 1980 Kwangju student massacre was a traumatic experience for many South Koreans. The 1980 Kwangju massacre is to Koreans what the 1989 Tiananmen Square incident is to the Chinese or the 1960's Selma Alabama incident and the Civil Rights movement is to Afro-Americans in the United States.

D. BIRTH OF ANTI-AMERICANISM

According to Professor Park at the Catholic University of Korea, the foundation of anti-Americanism derived from the 1980 Kwangju student massacre. Prior to the 1980 Kwangju uprising, anti-Americanism in South Korea was mostly momentary anger at incidents or emotional from the remnants of the Korean War. However, after the Kwangju uprising anti-Americanism became an ideology and systematic.²⁶ The birth of anti-Americanism and its ideology derived from the popular South Korean view that General Chun's military coup was only possible with the consent of the United States and U.S. support for an authoritarian regime, especially during the Cold War. The reason for this belief was the unified command structure of the United States military and the South Korean military in 1980, under which the United States had operational control over the

²⁵ David Rees, *Crisis and continuity in South Korea*. Conflict studies; London: Institute for the Study of Conflict 1981: 11.

²⁶ Kun-Young Park. "The Evolution of Anti-Americanism in Korea: Policy Implications for the United States." *Korea Journal* December 2007: 177.

South Korean military (in fact this only applies in time of war).²⁷ Many South Koreans believed that the United States stood for democracy, freedom, and human rights. However, the Kwangju uprising displayed otherwise. Upon seeing the U.S. government and military not intervene in the Kwangju student massacre, many South Koreans were led to believe that the national interest of the United States was more important than human rights protection in South Korea, thus creating more hatred towards the United States.²⁸

In “South Korean Anti-Americanism: A Comparative Perspective,” Shin Gi-Wook introduces various studies of anti-Americanism throughout the world that are applicable to South Korea’s anti-Americanism. Specifically, Alvin Rubinstein and Donald Smith illustrate,

Anti-Americanism in the third world countries is mainly driven by policy disagreements between governments and generates outbursts for domestic political use by the government as an instrument to reject an ideology. Marie-France Toinet displays French anti-Americanism, which rejects everything American, such beliefs and attitudes, which may arise out of nationalism, anti-capitalism, anti-modernity, fear of nuclear war, and resentment of political and economic dominance.²⁹

Shin divides the world’s anti-Americanism into cultural criticism, political economic resentment and ideological rejections.³⁰ Cultural criticism refers to the outside perception of the American way of life. “The American way of life is seen as uncivilized. It lacks for culture and Americans are obsessed with material things.”³¹ Political economic resentment refers to the belief that the “American domination and exploitation of third world countries is for American economic prosperity, and innately imperialistic.”³² Lastly, the ideological rejection refers to double standards by the United States. The United States was founded by an ideology in pursuit of happiness and

²⁷ Park 2007, 181.

²⁸ Park 2007, 182.

²⁹ Gi-Wook Shin. “South Korean anti-Americanism: A comparative perspective.” *Asian Survey* 1996: 786-789.

³⁰ Shin 1996, 791.

³¹ Shin 1996, 791

³² Shin 1996, 791

democratic freedom, written in the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. But Washington's support for dictatorship around the world is viewed as a double standard.³³ The United States does not practice what it preaches.

South Korea's anti-Americanism in the 1980s was ideological. Many South Koreans believed that the United States stood for democracy, freedom and human rights. However, the perception of the U.S. supporting General Chun's military coup, and not intervening to prevent the killings of the South Korean student protesters in the city of Kwangju, displayed double standards of the United States. This is a primary example of an ideological anti-Americanism in South Korea. According to Oh and Arrington, prior to the 1980s, over 60 percent of the South Korean population chose the United States as their favorite country in the world.³⁴ However, after the 1980 Kwangju incident, the image of the United States in South Korea began to deteriorate as radical anti-American organizations and activists began to grow in South Korea, especially by the "three eight six generation." "The 386 generation refers to those who are in their thirties, attended university and received higher education in the 1980s and were born in the 1960s."³⁵ The 386 generation is considered to be the most anti-American and left-leaning liberals in South Korea. South Korean activists from the 386 generation pioneered the anti-Americanism movements in the 1980s.

E. MEDIA'S ROLE

The media has an important role in the anti-Americanism in South Korea. This is clearly visible after the democratic transition. During the authoritarian regime, media was heavily censored and controlled by the government. Under President Chun in the 1980s, "independent news agencies were absorbed into a single state-run agency, numerous provincial newspapers were closed and central newspapers were forbidden to station correspondents in provincial cities."³⁶ There were limited printing companies,

³³ Shin 1996, 788-791.

³⁴ Oh and Arrington 2007, 338.

³⁵ Ihlwan Moon and Mark L. Clifford. "Korea's Young Lions: they're rising to power--and shaking up the nation." *Business Week* February 2003: 50.

³⁶ Andrea Matles Savada. *South Korea: A country study*. Library of Congress Washington, 1992.

few television stations and radio broadcasting stations, with all of the media owned by the elites and heavily affiliated with the government. However, after the political liberalization, strict rules and regulations were lifted and multiple printing companies, television and radio broadcasting stations began to increase throughout South Korea. In addition, the increase of Internet usage in the millennium has greatly shifted the means of distributing information to the South Korean citizens.

The geographical size of South Korea is equivalent to the state of Indiana and the capital city of Seoul is known to be one of the most wired places on earth. South Koreans rely heavily on the Internet for daily activities. There are over ten million people living in Seoul, and according to “nation masters,” the metropolitan area of Seoul has over twenty million people (Tokyo is the largest metropolitan area with over 32 million people).³⁷ The total population of South Korea is a little over forty-nine million. This means that nearly half of the South Korean population resides in or in the vicinity of Seoul, where communication can easily reach all districts of Seoul due to the Internet. According to the International Telecommunication Union, over thirty-four million people in South Korea are Internet users. This is about seventy percent of the population.³⁸

The biggest online news reporting agency in South Korea is “Oh My News.” This is an open source online news agency with a business motto that states “every citizen is a journalist.” South Korean citizens originate most of the content on “Oh My News”. According to the Eastern Economic Review, “by allowing ordinary people to submit news and commentary, ‘Oh My News’ offers an interactive, democratic style of reporting that complements and challenges the traditional media.”³⁹ However, the most amazing attribution of “Oh My News” is its ability to reach out to the vast population in South Korea in real time. This was crucial during the 2002 presidential election of President Roh Moo Hyun. During the 2002 presidential election, “Oh My News” posted up to the minute polling data and reported presidential candidate Roh Moo Hyun trailing

³⁷ Nation Masters http://www.nationmaster.com/encyclopedia/List-of-metropolitan-areas-by-population_

³⁸ Tim Kelly and Vanessa Gray and Michael Minges. “Broadband Korea: Internet case study.” *International Telecommunication Union* 2003.

³⁹ Jeremy Wagstaff. Korea's news crusaders. *Far Eastern Economic Review* 2004: 32.

other candidates. Foreign Policy magazine reports, “South Korean progressives and reform hungry readers besieged internet bulletin boards and fired off electronic text messages, imploring their compatriots to go to the polls and vote for Roh.”⁴⁰ President Roh won the 2002 presidential election over the conservative party in South Korea by few percent of the votes, delivering a political upset.

TABLE—KOREAN PRESIDENTS SINCE 1980

PRESIDENT	TERM	PARTY
Chun Doo Hwan	1980–88	Democratic Justice Party (DJP)
Roh Tae Woo	1988–93	DJP/Democratic Liberal Party (DLP)
Kim Young Sam	1993–98	DLP
Kim Dae Jung	1998–2003	New National Party/ Millenium Democratic Party (MDP)
Roh Moo Hyun	2003–2008*	MDP/Uri
Lee Myung Bak	2008–Present	Grand National Party

**From 13 March to 13 May 2004, Prime Minister Goh Kun served as acting president when the National Assembly impeached President Roh. Roh was reinstated two months later by a ruling of the Constitutional Court.*

Figure 3. South Korea’s miraculous democracy. (From Hahm Chaibong 2008)

Unlike other Presidents in South Korea who rose to power from the military rank or as an elite member of the South Korean society, President Roh Moo Hyun was neither elite nor military. President Roh was born into a poor farming family in the South, never attended a university, and became a self educated human rights lawyer who came into politics to serve the poor and to fight corruption. President Roh served under President Kim Dae Jung’s cabinet and was on the opposition party (MDP, Millennium Democratic Party) in the 2002 presidential election. President Roh and the progressives in South Korea came to power with the rise of anti-Americanism in 2002. Following the success of the South Korean national soccer team in the 2002 World Cup, South Korean pride and nationalism was at its highest. Unfortunately, with the death of the two school girls hit by a U.S. Army vehicle in summer of 2002, South Korean pride shifted to display

⁴⁰ Jennifer Veale. Seoul searching. *Foreign Policy* 2007: 94.

strong resentment towards the United States which resulted in protests throughout South Korea. President Roh's campaign embraced anti-Americanism ideology. President Roh's victory in the 2002 presidential election revealed South Korea's forward progress in democracy. His victory also revealed the widespread animosity and resentment towards the United States in South Korea. Anti-Americanism in South Korea was clearly visible and expressed amongst the South Koreans under President Roh Moo Hyun.

Anti-Americanism in South Korea is not a recent phenomenon. It has existed long before the democratization of the South Korean government. Anti-Americanism became an ideology during the 1980s when the South Korean people desired democratic government over the authoritarian regime. And, the perception of the U.S. support for the authoritarian leaders of South Korea, anti-Americanism was born. During the years of authoritarian rule, anti-Americanism was controlled and diffused by the government in South Korea. After the democratic transition in the 1990s, anti-Americanism was widely publicized and freely expressed by the South Korean people. Stimulated by a combination of economic prosperity, progressive media, and maturing democracy, anti-Americanism in South Korea is clearly visible and has been on the rise.

III. THE STATUS OF FORCES AGREEMENT

A. INTRODUCTION

The Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) and the crimes committed by U.S. service members are one of the main sources of anti-Americanism in South Korea. To focus on this source of anti-Americanism, clarifying the differences in cultural values between the United States and South Korea will provide better understanding. In addition, understanding the historical background and development of the Korean Peninsula will explain the sensitivity of the Koreans towards foreign presence. Due to the geographic location of the Korean Peninsula, Korea has always been encroached on or influenced by the dominant powers in the region. In its two thousand years of recorded history, “Korea has repelled numerous foreign invasions despite domestic strife, in part due to its protected status in the Sino-centric regional political model. Historical antipathies to foreign influence earned Korea the title of ‘Hermit Kingdom’ in the nineteenth century.”⁴¹ Having never been free from foreign influence, Koreans will always be skeptical toward foreigners. Therefore, given any excuse to express discontent towards foreigners, Koreans will. In the past fifty years, the United States has been the only dominant and influential power in South Korea.

1. History of Foreign Powers in Korea

A long history of foreign influence exists on the Korean Peninsula. Beginning with the Chinese during the Silla Dynasty, and continuing through the Koryo Dynasty and the Chosun Dynasty, the domination by the Mongols in the 1200s, the Manchurians during China’s Qing Dynasty, and annexation by the Japanese in 1910 until the end of the Second World War, foreign influence has left deep-rooted scars on the Korean Peninsula. The United States victory over the Japanese empire in the Second World War freed the Korean Peninsula from Japan’s colonization. However, with the clash of the Soviet Union and the United States after the Second World War, the East versus the West,

⁴¹ U.S. State Department <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2800.htm>.

communism versus capitalism, and socialism versus democracy, the Cold War further transformed the Korean Peninsula. Due to its geographical location, the Korean Peninsula has always been and always will be entangled with the major powers in the region.

The escalation of the Cold War greatly affected the future outlook for South Korea. Many economists and historians claim that the Cold War was a positive event for South Korea's economy. Similar to the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine in Europe, the United States provided military and economic aid bi-laterally in South Korea to prevent Soviet aggression and expansion. As a result, permanent stationing of U.S. military forces in South Korea presented the security umbrella throughout the Cold War that allowed South Korea's economy to develop exponentially. The Cold War and the aid from the United States were the key components to South Korea's reconstruction and the success of its economy, yet these gains came with the inevitable price of anti-American attitudes because of the power America exhibited.

B. ROK / U.S. ALLIANCE

1. ROK/U.S. SOFA

The permanent stationing of U.S. military forces in South Korea came with a heavy price as well. Civil disputes, crimes and conflicts between the local citizens and the U.S. military were and are recurring occurrences in South Korea. This is a usual characteristic in other countries that host U.S. (or any other) military and it is a common source of anti-Americanism. To mitigate some of the problems that arise between U.S. service members stationed overseas and the local citizens, the Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) is set forth between the United States and the host country. "SOFA is a detailed set of rules, protocols and promises that governs the actual stationing of American troops. SOFA is signed with the host nation of U.S. bases and contains the agreements that define the rights and duties of U.S. military personnel and their dependents."⁴² The Status of Forces Agreement between the United States and South

⁴² Alexander Cooley, *Base Politics : Democratic Change and the U.S. Military Overseas*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2008: 33.

Korea came into effect in July of 1966. This was twelve years after the Korean War. U.S. soldiers have been on the Korean Peninsula since the end of the Second World War.

Since the establishment of the ROK-US SOFA, according to the South Korean government's official statistics, "from 1967 to 1998 more than fifty thousand crimes were committed by U.S. soldiers and civilians. The total number of crimes committed by U.S. soldiers since 1945 is estimated to be around 100,000."⁴³ The second number is an estimate and subjective, since SOFA went into effect in 1967 and allowed the South Korean court's jurisdiction over crimes committed by U.S. service members. Prior to the SOFA, there were no records of crimes committed by U.S. service members. However, the crimes committed by U.S. service members were extremely high. This was part of the reason for the implementation of the SOFA. In Cooley's research, according to the Judge Advocate General (JAG) of the United States Forces of Korea (USFK), from 1967 to 2003, U.S. service members committed more than 55,000 crimes.⁴⁴ Cooley's research does support the accuracy of the South Korean government's statistics. Cooley also illustrates that since the election of a civilian President in 1992 and the democratic transition in South Korea, SOFA incidents have been declining, but the level of South Korea's rights of jurisdiction has increased significantly during this period as well. A key factor in the declining SOFA related crimes is the steady decline of the total number of U.S. soldiers stationed in South Korea. This number has been decreasing consistently since the end of the Korean War.

The historical roots of the U.S. are almost entirely European, but the 20th century saw a deepening engagement into the affairs of Asia. Most of that engagement focused on Japan and the postwar occupation, but the 1950s were also dominated by the Korean War. As a consequence of these two developments, U.S. bases have become a seemingly permanent feature of East Asian security. The data ironically indicate a sharp pullback of U.S. forces from Asia in the 1970s and 1980s, but this is primarily driven by the end of the Vietnam conflict and complete withdrawal from there. Troop commitments to Japan and South Korea formed bedrock of U.S. engagement in Northeast Asia.⁴⁵

⁴³ International Action Center <http://www.iacenter.org/Koreafiles/ktc-civilnetwork.htm>.

⁴⁴ Cooley 2008, 122-123.

⁴⁵ Tim Kane Ph. D. "Global U.S. Troop Deployment, 1950-2003." *The Heritage Foundation Center for Data Analysis Report* October 2004.

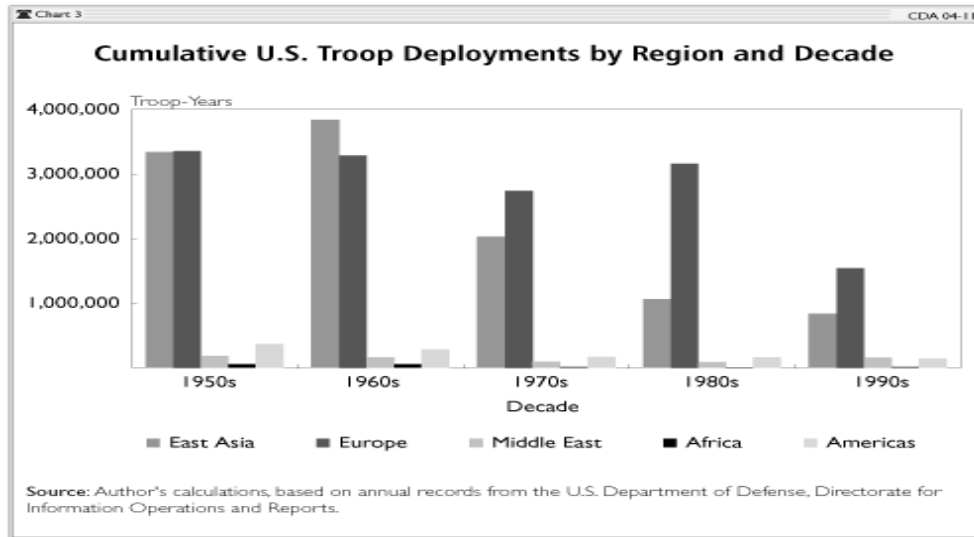


Figure 4. U.S. troops around the world, since the 1950s (Heritage Center)

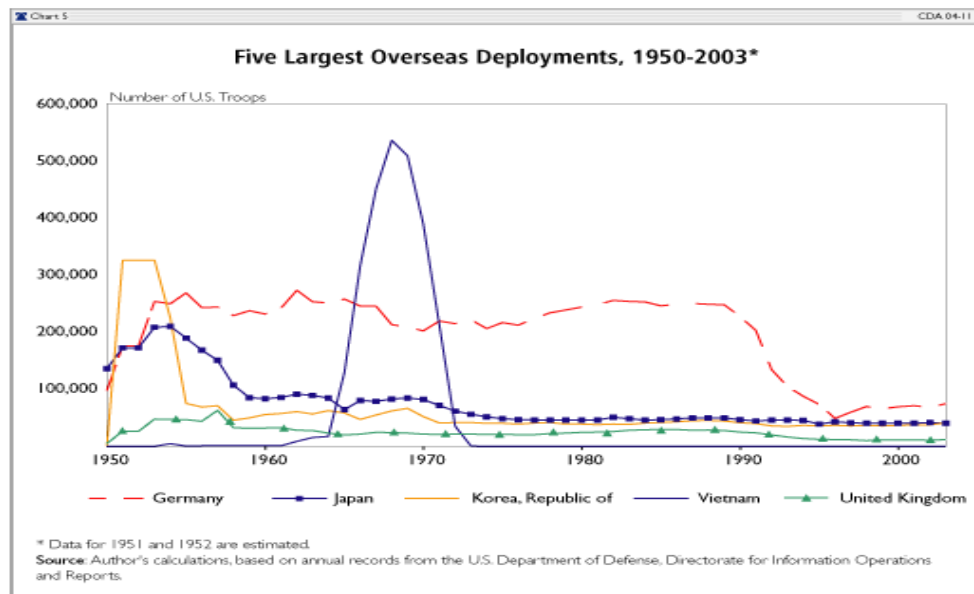


Figure 5. U.S. troops in Asia, steady decline in South Korea. (Heritage Center)

During democratization in South Korea, numerous non-governmental organizations and progressive media have been formed. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the progressive media are the primary drivers of the anti-Americanism from the crimes committed by U.S. service members. As the progressive media such as “Oh

My News” take particular interest in anti-American themes and the NGOs organize protests against the U.S. for base-related issues, both actors are quick to publicize the crimes committed by U.S. service members.⁴⁶ “South Korean NGOs have campaigned to raise awareness of women’s sexual labor in U.S. base districts, crimes and revisions of the SOFA and many of the NGOs are linked through the umbrella organization People’s Action for Reform of the Unjust SOFA (PAR-SOFA).”⁴⁷ Continuous protests from these organizations led to the revision of the SOFA by the United States in 2001, which modified the standing SOFA to be more equivalent to the SOFA in NATO countries. However, South Koreans continue to protest against the unfairness of the SOFA.

2. Death of Two School Girls

The SOFA in place for U.S. military personnel in South Korea appears unjust to South Koreans because of social and ethnic differences and was the tipping point of the anti-Americanism movement in summer of 2002. During a routine U.S. military exercise, a U.S. Army armored vehicle struck and killed two female middle school students north of Seoul. This incident occurred during the 2002 World Cup matches when Korean nationalism was at its highest among South Koreans. The trial for the U.S. soldiers involved in this accident was held by the U.S military court system. This also fueled anti-American sentiment.

The resulting acquittal of the U.S. soldiers led to fierce hatred and animosity towards the Americans and the standing SOFA. Hamn claims that anger, frustration and helplessness of the South Korean people derived from the fact that the Korean justice system had no jurisdiction over the U.S. soldiers at the time of the incident.⁴⁸ Therefore, to the South Korean people, the acquittal of the U.S. soldiers made it appear that no one was being held responsible for the death of the two school girls.

⁴⁶ Cooley 2008, 124.

⁴⁷ Cooley 2008, 121.

⁴⁸ David I. Steinberg. *Korean attitudes toward the United States: Changing dynamics*. Armonk, N.Y: M.E. Sharpe 2005: 225.

Officials from the United States tried to explain that the American justice system emphasizes the intent rather than the result, and this can be misunderstood from a perspective of Confucian values. Regardless of the difference in values and judicial process, in the eyes of the South Koreans, two school girls were killed, no one was held responsible, and there was no place to assign blame except for the SOFA. Ultimately, the apologies from the U.S. officials came too late for the tragedy of the two school girls. Fierce protesting against the United States spread like wild fire in South Korea. More than one hundred thousand people were out in the streets of Seoul to protest against the United States. The perception of the inequalities in the SOFA, and differences in the judicial processes and cultural beliefs between the United States and South Korea, led to a dangerous misunderstanding that fueled anti-Americanism in South Korea.

The majority of the anti-American protesters in South Korea may not fully understand the stipulations of the SOFA. In reference to the case of the two school girl incident in 2002, under the SOFA, the U.S. military had legal jurisdiction over troops committing crimes in South Korea while on duty. Article twenty-two section three of the SOFA states:

- (a) The military authorities of the United States shall have the primary right to exercise jurisdiction over members of the United States armed forces or civilian component, and their dependents, in relation to: offenses arising out of any act or omission done in the performance of official duty.
- (b) In the case of any other offense, the authorities of the Republic of Korea shall have the primary right to exercise jurisdiction.⁴⁹

The above statement may confuse non-military personnel, particularly the difference of being on duty and off duty. An average person, either an American or Korean, would not be likely to fully grasp the difference between being on or off duty, or why would it matter in the first place when a serious crime was committed by a human being. This is an example of how the western justice system with the belief of the “presumption of innocence” causes a problem in a Confucian society. In a western justice system, any person(s) charged with a criminal offense shall be considered innocent until proven guilty. Article Eleven of the “Universal Declaration of Human

⁴⁹ ROK-US Status of Forces Agreement Article 22, Section 3.

Rights” in 1948 by the United Nations states, “everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which they have had all the guarantees necessary for their defense.”⁵⁰ This is part of the human rights in a matured democracy. According to the U.S. Embassy in Seoul, “South Korean and U.S. laws are virtually the same with exception to access to counsel, communication rights, double jeopardy and bail.”⁵¹ Regardless of the laws, in a Confucian society, if a person causes a death or when crime is committed, the initial response shall be guilt, and one must show remorse, repentance and be punished. However, in a western justice system, everyone is innocent until proven guilty. Hypothetically, if a South Korean soldier accidentally killed the two school girls and the trial was held in a South Korean justice system, that soldier would most likely be found guilty or at least heavily responsible for the cause of the death. The slight difference in the judicial process is part of the basis for the anti-American sentiment in South Korea. This is also the case in Japan’s anti-Americanism as well.

C. ANTI-AMERICANISM IN JAPAN

A comparison of Japan and South Korea’s SOFA related incidents confirms the sensitivity of the SOFA and its potential to cause anti-American sentiments. Japan has dealt with anti-Americanism much longer than South Korea. This derived from incidents involving the United States military as well. Anti-Americanism in Japan can be traced back to 1854 when Commodore Perry forced Japan open to trade with the world. But the anti-Americanism that exists in Japan today is mainly from the Second World War. First, historians believe that the surprise attack by the Japanese on Pearl Harbor in 1941 was due to the United States placing an oil and fuel embargo on the Japanese merchant ships from Southwest Asia. Second, the United States defeated the Japanese in unconditional surrender in the Second World War. The detonation of the two atomic bombs that killed one hundred fifty thousand people in Hiroshima and Nagasaki proved without a doubt that the power of the United States military has been the greatest factor to the anti-

⁵⁰ United Nations <http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>,

⁵¹ Embassy of the United States in Seoul <http://seoul.usembassy.gov/legal.html#differ>

Americanism in Japan. However, post Second World War, the United States has been an important ally to Japan. The dichotomy is that in spite of the rampant anti-Americanism, Japan was able to reconstruct and develop its economy from the capital aid and under the security umbrella provided by the United States. Today, Japan has the world's second largest economy. Japan's economic success is closely related to South Korea's success. The United States had a significant role in the economic success of both countries.

1. U.S. Occupation of Japan

After the Second World War, the United States occupied Japan. Because of the pain and suffering caused by Japan's aggressive imperial army, the United States wanted to ensure Japan would never again be a menace to the United States or its neighboring countries. To do this, the United States wanted to transform Japan into "the Switzerland of the East." Cooley explains, "In an attempt to subdue and neuter the once militaristic nation, the United States, as a condition of the unconditional surrender terms, imposed a new pacifist constitution on Japan."⁵² Japan's constitution, article nine specifically states:

Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes. In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized.⁵³

Nevertheless, with the escalation of the Cold War that turned into a hot war on the Korean Peninsula, the United States shifted its security posture in Japan. Similar to the security treaty between South Korea and the United States, Japan and the United States signed a mutual security treaty in 1951 to deter Soviet communism. The United States revised its original intent and now wanted Japan to remilitarize and play a bigger but strictly self-defense role in the region. The shift in the role of Japan challenged Japan's Constitution. Article nine of Japan's Constitution remained unchanged while Japan

⁵² Cooley 2008, 177.

⁵³ Japan's Constitution Article 9.

remilitarized. Over the years, Japan has developed one of the most advanced, highly technological and capable militaries in the world. The opposition parties in Japan's parliament and many Japanese citizens opposed to the re-militarization of Japan due to the brutalities of the Second World War and the recent memories of the resultant atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The security treaty between the United States and Japan greatly fragmented the political parties in the parliament and the Japanese people.

2. U.S. / Japan SOFA

The security treaty between the United States and Japan was a main source of anti-American sentiment during the 1950s. Article two of the security treaty granted the United State the right to base "land, air and sea forces in and about Japan with unrestricted use-rights and no explicit guarantee that these forces would protect Japan."⁵⁴ As the security treaty gave the United States total military freedom in Japan, U.S. personnel were also given "extraterritoriality" with exclusive rights and jurisdiction in Japan.⁵⁵ Japanese leaders viewed the treaty as hierarchical and unfair by granting the U.S. military complete freedom and extraterritoriality to U.S. personnel. However, under the security treaty, the U.S. forces in Japan would no longer be the authority, rather a permanent resident with extraterritoriality. Due to the imbalanced security treaty, the Japanese people began to express their democratic freedom by protesting against the United States military. When Japan received the formal sovereignty from the United States in 1952, more than a million Japanese people demonstrated against the United States. Throughout the 1950s, "Japanese media began to report base related crimes, accidents, and scandals that further fueled anti-American sentiment and fostered the perception that the United States was behaving like an unchecked colonial power in Japan."⁵⁶ However, the perception of the U.S. as an unchecked colonial power is not comparable to the behavior of the Japanese military in Asia prior to their defeat in the Second World War.

⁵⁴ Cooley 2008, 178.

⁵⁵ Cooley 2008, 179.

⁵⁶ Cooley 2008, 182.

According to Cooley, “from 1953 to 1956, there were over 12,000 criminal offenses by U.S. service members, and 97 percent of the crimes were waived to the United States jurisdiction.”⁵⁷ Crimes committed by U.S. service members continued during the 1950s, and Japan’s support for the United States military decreased while anti-base sentiment increased. Prior to the 1951 security treaty, thirty percent of the Japanese population approved U.S. military presence in Japan, and in 1958, only eight percent approved.⁵⁸ This ultimately led to the revision of the security treaty in 1960 to be less hierarchical and to implementation of the SOFA. However, this did not resolve the anti-American sentiment in Japan. Part of the problem with the SOFA is the preferential treatment of Americans. Chalmers Johnson defines it as “extraterritoriality” and elaborates that:

SOFA is a modern legacy of the nineteenth-century imperialistic practice in China of ‘extraterritoriality,’ the ‘right’ of a foreigner charged with a crime to be turned over for trial to his own diplomatic representatives in accordance with his national law. In the modern version, extraterritoriality takes the form of heavy American pressure on countries like Japan to alter their systems of criminal justice to conform to the procedures that exist in the United States, regardless of historical and cultural differences.⁵⁹

Johnson also points out the Americans were the first people to demand “extraterritoriality” after the Opium war (1842) in China. After that, Americans and Europeans had “extraterritoriality” in China until the Japanese invasion of China in 1941.⁶⁰ The American demand for exceptional treatment in foreign countries has made the image of the “ugly American” appear even more factual.

Today, “the single most explosive issue that drives anti-Americanism in Japan revolves around U.S. forward bases in Okinawa, Japan, base politics.”⁶¹ The U.S. military forces have been in Okinawa since the Second World War. Okinawa is the southernmost prefecture in Japan and the poorest. Most people in Okinawa consider

⁵⁷ Cooley 2008, 182.

⁵⁸ Cooley 2008, 183.

⁵⁹ Chalmers Johnson. “Three rapes: The Status Of Forces Agreement and Okinawa.” *TomDispatch.Com*. 2003.

⁶⁰ Johnson 2003.

⁶¹ Steinberg and Gallucci 2005, 49.

themselves independent from Japan. However, due to the Second World War, Okinawa was a harsh battleground between the United States and Japan. Nearly two hundred thousand citizens in Okinawa were killed or forced (by the Japanese) to commit suicide during the Second World War.⁶² Since the end of the Second World War, the United States military has been a permanent residence in Okinawa. U.S. military bases occupy approximately twenty percent of the Okinawa's land mass. Due to a heavy U.S. military presence, crimes by U.S. service members are higher in Okinawa when compared with mainland Japan. Okinawa also has the highest unemployment rate in Japan and relies heavily on government subsidies and employment on American bases.⁶³ Despite the high visibility of the domestic problems and crimes committed by U.S. military service members in Okinawa, mainland Japan often overlooked the complaints by Okinawa citizens due to the strategic importance of the U.S. military. However, after the 1995 rape incident by three U.S. service members, the voices of the Okinawa citizens were taken seriously.

3. 1995 Rape in Okinawa

The most memorable incident that caused strong anti-American sentiment in Okinawa was when a twelve-year-old Okinawan girl was kidnapped and raped by three U.S. service members in 1995. This incident provoked anti-Americanism not only in Okinawa but throughout Japan. As part of the protocol, after the crime was committed by the U.S. service members, the United States military maintained its jurisdiction over the three service members for three weeks. Article twenty-seven, section nine of the U.S./Japan SOFA states, "the custody of an accused member of the United States armed forces or the civilian component over whom Japan is to exercise jurisdiction shall, if he is in the hands of the United States, remain with the United States until he is indicted by Japan."⁶⁴ On top of the heinous crime already committed, by keeping the accused U.S. service members for three weeks, it appeared as though the service members were given

⁶² Steinberg and Gallucci 2005, 40.

⁶³ Steinberg and Gallucci 2005, 41.

⁶⁴ United States Forces Japan http://www.usfj.mil/Reference_Documents/sofa.html.

too much freedom and not punished by the United States. This infuriated the local Okinawa citizens, because Japan's justice system operates quite differently from United States judicial processes. In Japan, once arrested, "a suspect can be held for questioning for as long as twenty-three days before formal charges are filed. If a detainee asks to have a lawyer present during questioning, it is up to the Japanese investigators to decide whether to grant the request, and prosecutors almost always say no."⁶⁵ In the United States, the above rule would violate basic human rights along with several sections of the "Bill of Rights" in the U.S. Constitution. However, in Japan, the above protocol is part of the judicial process that pressures the accused to confess to the crime committed. Thus, the Japanese citizens were more angered by the behavior of the United States, rather than the actual crime. The Okinawa rape incident has similarities to the 2002 school girl incident in South Korea. Different beliefs in the judicial process between the United States compared with Japan and South Korean jurisprudence fuels anti-Americanism. Since the 1995 Okinawa rape case, the United States has agreed to hand over suspects sooner to the Japanese authorities when serious crimes are committed by U.S. military personnel.

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, "SOFA is a detailed set of rules, protocols and promises that governs the actual stationing of foreign troops. SOFA is signed with the host nation of U.S. bases and agreements that defines the rights and duties of U.S. military personnel and their dependents."⁶⁶ Therefore, in theory, SOFA should alleviate any confusion or conflict that may arise when crimes are committed by U.S. service members stationed overseas. There should not be any conflict or confusion in reference to the jurisdiction or place of trial for the accused. Perhaps the host countries are responsible for educating their citizens to better understand the stipulations of the SOFA. On the other hand, the United States should consider the cultural differences and the consequences that may arise when strictly abiding by the written rules of the SOFA. Both South Korea and Japan are homogeneous societies where crime rates are relatively

⁶⁵ "Bush agrees to turn over rape suspect Japanese authorities had sought custody of air force sergeant." *Wall Street Journal*, Jul 6, 2001.

⁶⁶ Cooley 2008, 33.

low and the conviction rate is high. When a foreigner or a U.S. service member commits a crime in homogeneous societies like Japan and South Korea, this naturally becomes high profile. High profile crimes committed by the U.S. service members like the one in South Korea and Japan do cause extreme emotions and anger by the local citizens that fuels anti-Americanism.

“Since 1950, approximately 22 percent of the U.S. troops were stationed in foreign soil, mostly in Asia and Europe. In 2003, 27 percent of the U.S. forces were deployed to foreign soil, exactly 387,920 personnel.”⁶⁷ There is a direct correlation between anti-Americanism and U.S. military personnel stationed overseas. However, SOFA related incidents that have caused strong anti-American sentiments could have been avoided in South Korea and Japan with cultural awareness, understanding the difference in the jurisprudence and the legal process. Throughout the Cold War, U.S. military presence in foreign soil has provided security and the opportunity of economic prosperity. During those years, crimes committed by the U.S. service members were often overlooked or tolerated by the host countries due to the strategic importance of the U.S. military. Now that the Cold War is over and the role of the U.S. military in foreign countries is decreasing, host countries are less forgiving of the crimes committed by the U.S. service members. As we have studied the presence of the United States military power in Japan and South Korea, anti-Americanism is and will continue to be a factor in the future as the Global War on Terrorism continues, even as young soldiers from the United States risk their lives to provide security and freedom to those countries who seeks better life. In the years ahead, Afghanistan and Iraq will experience anti-Americanism as did Japan and South Korea during and after the reconstruction years. Anti-Americanism is a part of the cost of doing business with the United States military or any other occupying military force.

⁶⁷ Kane 2004.

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IV. SOFT POWER AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

A. INTRODUCTION

The United States foreign policy towards North Korea, which became linked to the Global War on Terrorism (GWOT), leads to another source of anti-Americanism in South Korea. After the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in September of 2001, Washington implemented a pre-emptive strategy to combat global terrorism. Projecting U.S. hard power with overwhelming military force and coercive economic measures is necessary to combat terrorism. However, too much hard power neglects soft power and creates negative images of the United States. The decreasing image of the United States around the world is mainly due to the dominance and frequent use of the U.S. military, involving a great deal of hard power. The arduous battle against terrorism requires both hard power to eliminate enemy forces and applying soft power to win the hearts and minds of the people.

According to Joseph Nye, “soft power is the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payment and it arises from the attractiveness of a country’s culture, political ideals and policies.”⁶⁸ Nye frames “soft power” as another form of power, an important form of power, and it is a serious mistake not to incorporate it into national security affairs.⁶⁹ Nye also correlates decreasing soft power with the rise of anti-Americanism. Since the Korean War, American use of soft power has been widely visible in South Korean culture. However, the aggressive nature of the current U.S. foreign policy and lessening of its use of soft power has decreased the popularity of the United States and increased anti-American sentiment in South Korea.

⁶⁸ Joseph S. Nye. *Soft Power: The means to success in world politics*. New York: Public Affairs. Preface.

⁶⁹ Nye, Preface.

B. AMERICAN SOFT POWER

The United States has been deeply involved in South Korean affairs since the end of the Second World War. It is a fair statement to say that the United States has been a big brother to South Korea. This chapter will illustrate the foundation of American soft power in South Korea and the negative effects of U.S. foreign policy towards North Korea. South Koreans have desired the American way of life in democratic politics, capitalist economy and human rights. Many South Koreans still want to speak the English language, to attend American universities, to travel to the United States, and to live in the United States of America. These are the characteristics of American soft power in South Korea that have been most attractive to the Korean people. However, U.S. foreign policy towards North Korea has overshadowed American soft power and led to the increase of anti-Americanism in South Korea.

The development of American soft power in South Korea began when the United States defeated the Japanese in the Second World War. Unconditional victory over the Japanese freed the Koreans from Japanese rule. Thirty-five years of Japanese colonization of the Korean Peninsula ended on August 15, 1945, when Japan officially surrendered to the United States. Since 1945, 15th of August is a national holiday known as the “Liberation Day” for the North and South Koreans. For this reason, many South Koreans do claim the United States as a big brother and a close ally. The United States has been the most important ally to South Korea militarily, economically and politically.

1. Military and Economic Aid

During the Cold War, North Korea invaded South Korea in order to reunify Korea as one under the North Korean banner on June 25, 1950. Initially, under the National Security Council report 68, South Korea was outside the defense perimeter of the United States in East Asia.⁷⁰ However, President Harry S. Truman and the United Nations voted for immediate military action to support South Korea and curb the spread of Communism. During the Korean War, the United States provided more than 300,000

⁷⁰ Robert Jervis. The impact of the Korean War on the cold war. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* (Pre-1986) December 1980: 563.

soldiers to defend South Korea. Fifteen other countries from the members of the United Nations sent troops to South Korea as well. During the Korean War, more than 36,000 U.S. troops died, with more than 92,000 wounded, 8,000 missing in action, and 7,000 captured by the enemy as prisoners of war. Although the U.S. involvement in the Korean War was based on the containment strategy against the spread of communism, thousands of American lives were sacrificed in effect to provide democratic freedom for the South Korean people. The Korean War is often referred to as the “forgotten war,” however, U.S. support for the South Korean people should never be forgotten as forty nine million people in South Korea today enjoy democratic freedom and economic prosperity, while their brethren in North Korea struggle to survive under their totalitarian regime.

Since the signing of the armistice of the Korean War, permanent stationing of U.S. military personnel on the Korean Peninsula has deterred North Korean aggression. In addition, the U.S. military presence allowed significant amounts of aid to flow in to South Korea, which was a key factor to South Korea’s successful reconstruction. Since the end of the Second World War, from 1946 to 1970, the United States has provided more than \$12.6 billion in economic and military aid to South Korea.⁷¹ Along with the aid from the United States during its developmental stage, South Korea’s economy grew exponentially due to the Vietnam War. The Vietnam War greatly expanded the market and increased capital for South Korea’s economy. “The Vietnam War played a particularly important role in the internationalization of the South Korean business conglomerates. Hanjin and Hyundai were contracted international construction and transportation operations for the U.S. military in Southeast Asia.”⁷² South Korean business conglomerates, also known as “chaebols,” continue to dominate and they are the backbone of the South Korean economy. Following the Korean War, South Korea was one of the poorest countries in the world. Today, South Korea is the world’s eleventh

⁷¹ Richard Stubbs. *Rethinking Asia’s economic miracle: The political economy of war, prosperity, and crisis*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2005.

⁷² Jene K. Kwon. *Korean economic development*. Contributions in Economics and Economic History, no. 108. New York: Greenwood Press. 1990:63.

largest economy. According to Goldman Sachs, by the year 2025, South Korea will have the ninth largest economy and third largest income per capita in the world.⁷³

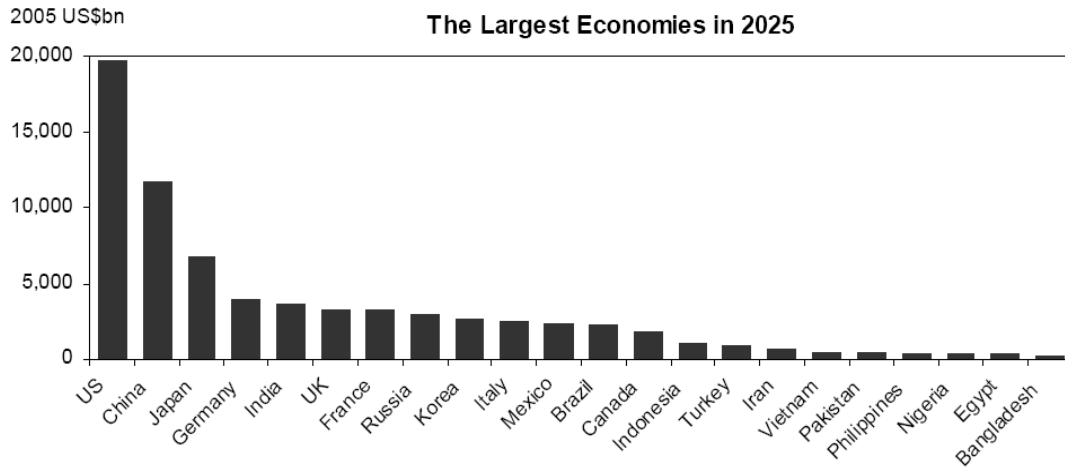


Figure 6. Forecast of World Economy. (Goldman Sachs)

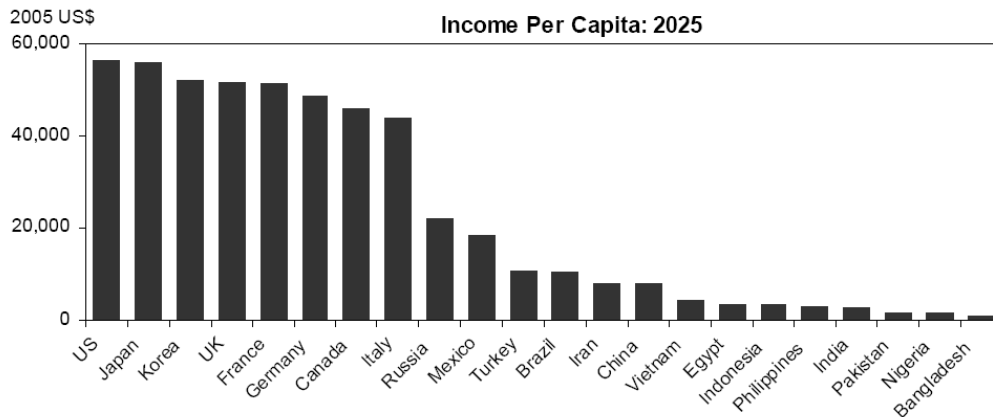


Figure 7. Forecast of World's Highest Income Per Capita. (Goldman Sachs)

⁷³ Jim O'Neill and Dominic Wilson and Roopa Purushothaman and Anna Stupnytska. How solid are the BRICs? *Goldman Sach Global Economic Paper* December 2005.

	Total Trade	Export Market	Source of Imports	Source of FDI
for U.S., ROK ranks	#7	#7	#7	n.a.
for ROK, U.S. ranks	#1	#2	#2	#2
In 2003, China surpassed the U.S. as the ROK's largest export market. For the first four months of 2004, China surpassed the U.S. as the ROK's largest trading partner.				

Figure 8. U.S. trade with South Korea. (CRS)

2. Religion

Religion is another aspect of American soft power in South Korea. Western Christianity was slow in growth until the 1960s, due to Confucian and Japanese domination of Korea. The first American Presbyterian missionary to arrive in Seoul Korea was Doctor Horace Allen in 1884.⁷⁴ In the same decade, “a Protestant minister Doctor Horace G. Underwood who published the first Korean-English and English-Korean dictionary, Mr. and Mrs. Henry G. Appenzeller and Mrs. Mary F. Scranton under the Methodist Parent Board arrived in Korea and further brought Christianity to the Koreans.”⁷⁵ Today, more than a quarter of South Korean citizens are Protestant Christians or Roman Catholics. Approximately half of the population in South Korea is non-religious. Therefore, half of the populations who are religious are Christians in their faith.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Sungho Lee. 1989. The emergence of the modern university in Korea. *Higher Education* 1989: 87-116

⁷⁵ Lee 1989, 89.

⁷⁶ Andrew E. Kim. Korean religious culture and its affinity to Christianity: The rise of protestant Christianity in South Korea. *Sociology of Religion* 2000: 117-33.

49.3% of the population has no religion, 26.3% is Christian and 23.2% is Buddhist. Of the Christian groups, Protestants account for 19.7% of the population and Catholics for 6.6%. The next largest group is Confucians (0.5%). A number of smaller groups account for the remaining 0.7%.⁷⁷

Christianity began to spread throughout South Korea during the 1960s in parallel with the economic development. In addition, the United States Peace Corps began its involvement in the 1960s as well. There are more than seventy million Protestant Christians in Asia, which is about 2 percent of the total Asian population, and South Korea has the largest percentage of Protestant population of all Asian countries.⁷⁸ According to PEW research, South Korea continues to increase in Christian population in both numbers and percentage (Figure 9).

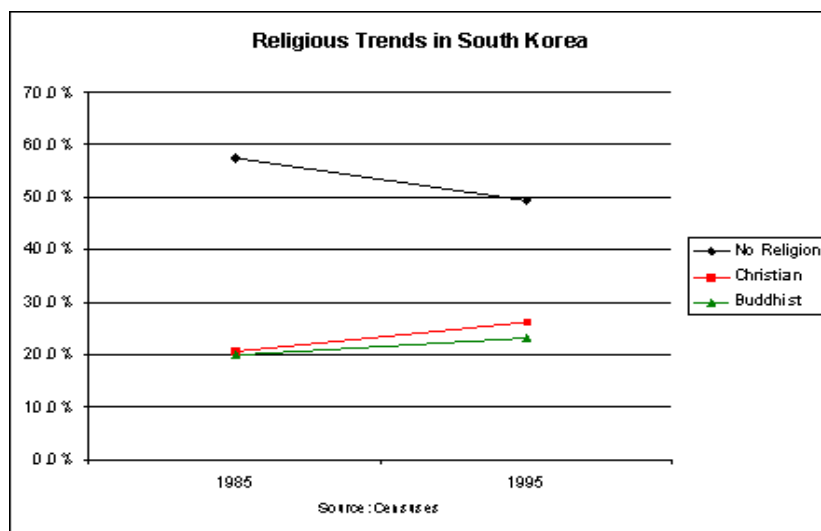


Figure 9. Steady increase in Christianity since 1985 and steady decline in non-religious population (Pew Research)

⁷⁷ Pew Research Center <http://pewforum.org/world-affairs/countries/?CountryID=194>.

⁷⁸ Kim 2000, 117.

3. Education

America's higher education system was introduced in Korea at the same time as Christianity in the 1880s. The first President of South Korea, Syngman Rhee, was educated in the United States. He attended George Washington University, Princeton University and Harvard University from 1904 to 1910. Similar to the growth of Christianity, after the liberation of South Korea and the introduction to American democracy, the demand for higher education increased in South Korea after the Korean War. Along with the rapid economic development in South Korea, many universities, schools and teachers were in high demand and therefore significantly increased in South Korea. South Koreans attending American universities also increased during the 1960s. Lee states, "in the 1960s, South Koreans attending American universities was a guarantee for success in South Korea and between the years of 1955 to 1967, 85 percent of the South Korean students studying abroad were studying in the United States."⁷⁹ The American educational system had a significant attraction and influential power in South Korea.

Just in the last decade, the demand for the English language in South Korea has multiplied as well. Many Korean parents push their children to learn the English language by enrolling their children into an English language academy at an early age. According to *Financial Times*, "South Koreans believe that as globalization continues, in South Korea, the type of job and treatment of a person is dependent on his or her English speaking ability. Countries that use English tend to be richer than those that do not."⁸⁰ American involvement in South Korea since the end of the Second World War has greatly shaped the lives of the South Korean people. Accumulation of American soft power in South Korea has provided significant support for the United States and its

⁷⁹ Sang Dawn Lee. Big brother, little brother: The American influence on Korean culture in the Lyndon B. Johnson years 2002: 30.

⁸⁰ Jung-A, Song. Push for intensive English teaching at school worries S Korea's parents. *Financial Times* April 3 2008.

military from the South Korean people. However, this support has been decreasing since the implementation of the GWOT pre-emptive strategy by Washington and the shift to a more aggressive U.S. foreign policy.

C. U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

Internationally, the image of the United States has been deteriorating as the global war on terrorism reaches its seventh year. Initially, the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon led various nations to support the United States on combating terrorism. However, the United States-led invasion of Iraq without the support of the United Nations on the premises of weapons of mass destruction (which were not found in Iraq) has led to increased anti-Americanism throughout the world. A recent study by Oxford Research states, “Anti-Americanism has risen to levels not seen since the 1980s, and remains high among U.S. traditional allies in both the European Union and Muslim world” (See chart below by PEW Global Attitudes).⁸¹ According to the chart, prior to 2003 U.S. led invasion of Iraq, the popularity of the United State was high in all parts of the globe.⁸²

Anti-Americanism increased during President Bush’s administration, especially after the invasion of Iraq in 2003. The current situation in Iraq has led to much speculation about the United States’ strategy in Iraq from the international arena. After failing to find weapons of mass destruction, “the United States described the invasion as bringing democracy to Iraq, and in turn, having a domino effect of democratization in the Middle East.”⁸³ This led many people in the world to believe that the claim of invading Iraq to combat terrorism was false and the real reason for the invasion was to control Middle East oil and for global dominance, although the U.S. only imports twenty percent of its imported oil from the Middle East. Therefore, anti-Americanism throughout the world has increased due to the United States foreign policy in the Middle East.

⁸¹ INTERNATIONAL: Iraq takes toll on US global influence. *Ox Research* August 2007: 1.

⁸² *Ox Research* 2007: 1.

⁸³ *Ox Research* 2007: 1.

Favorable Views of the U.S.								
	1999/ 2000	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Britain	83	75	70	58	55	56	51	53
France	62	62	42	37	43	39	39	42
Spain	50	--	38	--	41	23	34	33
Germany	78	60	45	38	42	37	30	31
Poland	86	79	--	--	62	--	61	68
Russia	37	61	37	46	52	43	41	46
Turkey	52	30	15	30	23	12	9	12
Lebanon	--	36	27	--	42	--	47	51
Egypt	--	--	--	--	--	30	21	22
Jordan	--	25	1	5	21	15	20	19
South Korea	58	52	46	--	--	--	58	70
India	--	66	--	--	71	56	59	66
Japan	77	72	--	--	--	63	61	50
Australia	--	--	59	--	--	--	--	46
China	--	--	--	--	42	47	34	41
Indonesia	75	61	15	--	38	30	29	37
Pakistan	23	10	13	21	23	27	15	19
Brazil	56	51	35	--	--	--	44	47
Mexico	68	64	--	--	--	--	56	47
Argentina	50	34	--	--	--	--	16	22
Tanzania	--	53	--	--	--	--	46	65
Nigeria	46	76	61	--	--	62	70	64
South Africa	--	65	--	--	--	--	--	60

1999/2000 survey trends provided by the Office of Research,
U.S. Department of State.

Figure 10. U.S. image 2000 to 2008 (Pew Research)

Figure 10 indicates the decline in the U.S. image from 2000 to 2003 in various parts of the globe. In 2003, the year of the Iraq war, South Korea's approval for the U.S. fell below 50 percent for the first time. However, from 2007 to 2008, approval of the U.S. in South Korea has improved. This suggests that U.S. foreign policy in 2002 and 2003 played an important role in producing anti-American sentiment.

1. North Korea as Part of an “Axis of Evil”

As for South Korea’s view of the U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East, the South Korean government is fully engaged in the current war against terrorism in the Middle East, although the opposition parties in the national assembly and many South Korean citizens are opposed. South Korea provides more than three thousand soldiers for peacekeeping missions in Iraq (South Korea is the third largest support in troops in Iraq, behind the United States and the United Kingdom). However, after the terrorist attack on September 11, 2001, stricter U.S. policy towards North Korea led to an increase in anti-Americanism in South Korea. The 2002 state of the union address by the President of the United States declared North Korea as part of the “Axis of Evil” which included Iraq and Iran.⁸⁴ Unfortunately, this speech was delivered at a time when the South Korean government began its peaceful engagements with North Korea. During President Kim Dae Jung’s administration, South Korea implemented the carrot and stick engagement approach to North Korea, better known as the “Sunshine Policy.”

The “Sunshine Policy” had three principles: no toleration of North Korean armed provocations, no South Korean efforts to undermine or absorb the North, and active Republic of Korea (ROK) attempts to promote reconciliation and cooperation between the two Koreas.⁸⁵ President Kim Dae Jung’s strategy for the “Sunshine Policy” was an economic approach to reinvigorate North Korea’s economy by establishing special economic zones. However, the designation of North Korea as one of the “Axis of Evil” and the pre-emptive strategy by the United States greatly impacted South Korea’s engagement policy towards North Korea. Declaring North Korea as one of the “Axis of Evil” implied that North Korea was “seeking weapons of mass destruction, poses a grave and growing danger, and could provide these arms to terrorists, giving them the means to match their hatred. They could attack our allies or attempt to blackmail the United States. The price of indifference would be catastrophic.”⁸⁶ Despite the U.S. policy

⁸⁴ The White House <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020129-11.html>.

⁸⁵ South Korea’s Sunshine Policy was addressed by the South Korean Ambassador to the United States Yang Sung Chul. This speech can be found on <http://www.asiasociety.org/>.

⁸⁶ The White House <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020129-11.html>.

towards North Korea, President Kim Dae Jung continued to engage North Korea, maintaining business as usual. President Kim Dae Jung's behavior greatly affected the diplomatic relationship between South Korea and the United States.

U.S. Foreign Policy and the War on Terror: Asia and Africa				
	<i>U.S. foreign policy considers others</i>		<i>U.S.-led war on terrorism</i>	
	Yes	No	Favor	Oppose
Asia	%	%	%	%
Vietnam	80	8	62	29
Philippines	74	15	82	17
Indonesia	41	49	31	64
India	38	31	65	10
Japan	36	59	61	32
South Korea	23	73	24	72
Bangladesh	15	40	28	46
Africa				
Nigeria	76	17	75	20
Ivory Coast	54	46	87	13
Kenya	53	38	85	12
Uganda	53	28	67	24
Angola	53	34	59	33
South Africa	51	35	55	32
Mali	49	38	47	36
Tanzania	47	30	53	35
Ghana	45	34	63	24
Senegal	34	59	32	64
*These questions were not permitted in China.				

Figure 11. View of U.S. foreign policy considers others in 2007 (Pew Research)

Additionally, harsh criticism made by President Bush's administration towards President Kim Dae Jung's "Sunshine Policy" was not well received by the South Korean government and the Korean people. Under President Kim Dae Jung, non-conservative and left wing parties held a majority of the seats in South Korea's national assembly. Most of the left wing parties embraced the anti-Americanism ideology and used the anti-

Americanism slogan as the driving force of their political campaigns. Overall, Washington's criticism on the "Sunshine Policy" and the declaration of North Korea as one of the "Axis of Evil" significantly increased anti-Americanism within the South Korean government and its people, and further widened the gap in the relationship between President Bush and President Kim Dae Jung.

For the sake of United States national security, identifying the main culprits of global terrorism and identifying the supporters of terrorists is necessary. However, as every action has a reaction, including North Korea as part of the "Axis of Evil" fueled anti-American sentiment in South Korea. Since the end of the Korean War, South Korea's security posture towards North Korea had been equivalent and side by side with the United States until the end of the Cold War. Both Washington and Seoul were hawkish, suspicious and apprehensive towards North Korea throughout the Cold War. Throughout the Cold War, North Koreans engaged in multiple military provocations and terrorist types of behaviors. These unacceptable behaviors include hijacking, assassination, kidnapping of innocent civilians (both South Koreans and Japanese citizens), air assaults, espionage, commando infiltrations, bombing plots, and killing numerous U.S. soldiers along the DMZ.⁸⁷

After the end of the Cold War, Washington's hawkish posture towards North Korea appeared to lessen during President Clinton's administration. On the brink of a military conflict between the United States and North Korea in 1994 over nuclear ambitions of the North Korean leaders, the United States and North Korea negotiated a deal that included increasing food and energy aid to North Korea if Pyongyang halted its nuclear ambitions. This agreed framework was based on the presumption of a North Korean collapse by the Clinton administration. A few years later, South Korea began to liberalize its own engagement policy towards North Korea with the election of President Kim Dae Jung. "In his inauguration speech, President Kim Dae Jung pledged to actively pursue peaceful reconciliation and cooperation with North Korea and declared to improve

⁸⁷ Congress Research Service Report. North Korea: Chronology of Provocations 1950-2003 2003: 6-29.

Pyongyang's relation with Washington and Tokyo.”⁸⁸ Calder and Fukuyama explain that “President Kim Dae Jung's approach towards North Korea was in complete contrast with those of his predecessors, who had chafed mightily at any hint of such rapprochement.”⁸⁹ On the other hand, with the election of President Bush in 2000, and the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, Washington's implementation of the pre-emptive strategy led to a drastic change in security posture towards North Korea. The tightened security posture towards North Korea was a drastic course change from South Korea's peaceful engagement policy towards North Korea. As a result, the United States and South Korea have experienced the most troubled relationship since the establishment of the ROK/US Alliance in 1954. These events have greatly fueled anti-American sentiments in South Korea.

2. South Korea's Increasing Role

In the past two decades, South Korea has achieved significant milestones. Economically, South Korea has one of the largest shipbuilding industries in the world. South Korea also has one of the largest semiconductor industries, and is in the top five in automobile manufacturing.⁹⁰ Militarily, South Korea has the fourth largest active duty military in Asia and continues to seek advanced military technologies.⁹¹ South Korea has also transitioned into a democratic government and democracy continues to mature. Overall, South Korea has become wealthy, independent, and democratized. Consequently, the American soft power that resonated profoundly since the Korean War has been decreasing. In addition, the role of the United States military in South Korea

⁸⁸ Kent E. Calder and Francis Fukuyama. *East Asian multilateralism: Prospects for regional stability*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press 2008: 50.

⁸⁹ Calder and Fukuyama 2008, 50.

⁹⁰ Organization for Economic and Co-operation and Development
http://www.oecd.org/country/0,3377,en_33873108_33873555_1_1_1_1_1,00.html.

⁹¹ Janes
http://www8.janes.com/Search/documentView.do?docId=/content1/janesdata/sent/cnasu/skors100.htm@current&pageSelected=allJanes&keyword=tank&backPath=http://search.janes.com/Search&Prod_Name=CNAS&keyword=#toclink-j2931205754462220.

has been decreasing since the end of the Cold War. Therefore, differences in policies between the United States and South Korea cause problems and lead to anti-American sentiments.

When the hawks in Washington discredit and criticize the efforts of the progressives and the liberals in the South Korean government, on issues relating North Korea that are so close to home for the South Korean people, it raises tension and fuels anti-American sentiment in South Korea. The U.S. views North Korea as a huge threat due to North Korea's capability to develop and to deliver weapons of mass destruction (WMD). South Koreans understand this potential problem, but the bigger concern to the South Koreans is the potential crisis on the Korean Peninsula or a North Korean collapse that would greatly affect South Korea's economy.⁹² Therefore, Washington's hard line approach towards North Korea appears as if the United States is neglecting the national concerns and interests of the South Korean people and the government. Koreans feel that the United States does not fully understand the democratic changes that have been occurring in South Korea since the end of the Cold War. South Korea today is by far a different country from what it was in the war torn days of the Korean War. The South Korean government is stable, with a vibrant economy, and an ever strengthening military. South Korea's human capital has greatly improved and demographics are constantly changing as well, especially from the democratization of the South Korean government. And, while manufacturing jobs are decreasing and being outsourced, the standard of living has improved, the democratic politics have increased, the government and the economy continue to liberalize and democracy continues to mature. This is not your father's Korea. South Korea is no longer a third world country. Therefore, the Cold War mentality in South Korea is out dated and does not fit in to the national interest of the South Korean government and the people.

According to Figure 10, South Korea's public opinion of the U.S. improved in 2007 to 2008. Part of the reason for this improvement is the multi-lateral diplomatic response to North Korea, the "Six Party Talks" (China, Russia, Japan, South Korea,

⁹² Seong-Ho Sheen. Grudging partner: South Korea. *Asian Affairs, an American Review* 2003: 96.

North Korea and the United States). The “Six Party Talks” were originated by the United States in 2003 to engage North Korea peacefully and to dismantle North Korea’s nuclear program. After several years of negotiations, the “Six Party Talks” finally made a breakthrough. In 2007, “North Korea agreed to disable facilities at its plutonium-producing Yongbyon nuclear complex and reveal its atomic activities.”⁹³ Washington’s multi-lateral approach to denuclearize North Korea was highly favored by the South Koreans. In October 2008, the United States removed North Korea from its list of states that sponsor terrorism. This action by the Bush administration is a positive step towards bettering relations with not only North Korea, but the entire Korean Peninsula. In order to revive American soft power, bettering relations with North Korea or any other rogue states by diplomatic measures is highly effective compared to the use of hard power.

In addition, President-elect Obama may revive American soft power in South Korea, although, South Koreans’ view of President-elect Obama is two-sided. First, South Koreans may fear President-elect Obama’s economic strategy, because the free trade agreement between the U.S. and South Korea is awaiting the U.S. Congress’ ratification, there is a risk that the Obama administration might not push for approval of the deal. President-elect Obama and the Democratic Party’s desire to balance the trade deficit between the U.S. and South Korea may lead to increasing protectionism against South Korea.⁹⁴ This may also fuel anti-American sentiment in South Korea. Politically, South Koreans are optimistic towards President-elect Obama’s foreign policy. The President of South Korea commented on CNN, “South Korea has high expectations for President elect Obama, calling him the right leader at the right time. Any damage done in recent years to U.S. global leadership may be because the country relied too heavily on hard power, and that he believes Obama will be effective in utilizing soft power.”⁹⁵

⁹³ Nuclear Breakthrough. *Country Monitor*, February 12 2007.

⁹⁴ Jung-A Song. “Seoul warns over US pact.” *Financial Times*, November 6, 2008.

⁹⁵ Cable News Network (CNN) <http://www.cnn.com/2008/POLITICS/11/16/obama.south.korea/>.

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V. CONCLUSION

Following the Second World War, the United States had a significant role in the reconstruction of South Korea. The United States supported South Korea in every aspect of its reconstruction: military, economy, politics, education, culture and religion. These are the main sources of American soft power that still exist in South Korea. Spurred by the emergence of the Cold War and the support of the United States, South Korea transformed into one of the most successful countries in the world economically and politically. South Korea was able to achieve its rapid economic development through the security umbrella of the United States. According to the Organization for Economic and Co-operation and Development (OECD), South Korea ranks the highest in the world in the following categories: annual work hours, broadband internet access per capita, scientific literacy, annual export growth, annual GDP growth, mathematic literacy and patents granted.⁹⁶ Today, the United States is the second largest trading partner to South Korea and South Korea is the seventh largest trading partner to the United States. South Korea has the eleventh largest economy in the world. South Korea has become wealthy and independent.

Despite the positive impact of the United States in South Korea, during the last two decades, anti-Americanism has been on the rise. The sources of anti-Americanism in South Korea include the democratic transition of the South Korean government, SOFA related incidents, and U.S. foreign policy. These independent variables can be critical to the future of ROK/US alliance, because the foundation of the two countries alliance is from the Cold War. And, the alliance is beginning to deteriorate, especially after the end of the Cold War. According to Hamm, “both the U.S. and ROK need to re-adjust the nature of the alliance in the changing security environment. Washington has been interested in transforming the US/ROK alliance into a regional structure, while Seoul

⁹⁶ Organization for Economic and Co-operation and Development
http://www.oecd.org/country/0,3377,en_33873108_33873555_1_1_1_1_1,00.html.

prefers to maintain U.S. military forces focused on the Korean Peninsula.”⁹⁷ Looking ahead, new challenges will continue to surface on the Korean Peninsula for Washington and Seoul to deal with.

A. CHANGES IN THE ALLIANCE

Since the end of the Korean War, Washington has steadily decreased the total number of U.S. military personnel stationed in South Korea due to increasing international commitments. During the Korean War, more than three hundred thousand U.S. soldiers were defending South Korea. “Total U.S. troops in South Korea after the Korean War was 228,000. In the 1960s there were 60,000 U.S. troops, 50,000 in the 1970s, and 35,000 in the 1990s.”⁹⁸ According to the United States Pacific Command, under the command of United States Forces Korea (USFK), there are 70 active installations and 28,000 U.S. military personnel assigned to South Korea today.⁹⁹ In addition to the decrease of U.S. military forces, base realignments and shifting of war time operational control to the South Korean leaders are taking place in South Korea.

1. Base Realignment

With the rapid economic development of South Korea, the city of Seoul has urbanized and expanded greatly in the past two decades. As mentioned previously, the metropolitan area of Seoul has more than twenty million people. Seoul has become one of the most populated and busiest cities in Asia. As for the U.S. base relocations, Nam illustrates, “the most obvious internal problem behind the need for relocating U.S. military bases in Korea is that large military posts and training facilities are concentrated in the vicinity of Seoul and the military bases have obstructed the development of neighboring cities.”¹⁰⁰ In addition, the expansion of Seoul has increased conflict

⁹⁷ Taik-Young Hamm. The ROK towards Defence Self-Reliance. *Military Technology* 2007: 337.

⁹⁸ Tim Kane Ph D. Global U.S. troop deployment, 1950-2003. *The Heritage Foundation Center for Data Analysis Report* October 2004.

⁹⁹ United States Pacific Command <http://www.pacom.mil/about/pacom.shtml>.

¹⁰⁰ Chang-Hee Nam. Relocating the US forces in South Korea: Strained alliance, emerging partnership in the changing defense posture. *Asian Survey* 2006: 46.

between the U.S. military and the local citizens in Seoul that has greatly fueled anti-Americanism in South Korea. There are very few forward deployed U.S. bases in the world where the cost of the real estate is extremely high and heavily populated like the metropolitan city of Seoul. It would almost be like having a military base in Central Park in Manhattan. “To both Korean and U.S. officials, the logic is simple. The argument for clearing out of Seoul is that the base has long been a target for periodic angry demonstrations against the large U.S. military presence in the capital city.”¹⁰¹

In 2003, Washington and Seoul agreed to relocate multiple U.S. bases in the vicinity of Seoul. The most important base relocation is the Yongsan U.S. Army Garrison located in Seoul. The new location for the Yongsan base is Camp Humphreys located in the city of Pyongtaek, about thirty miles south of Seoul. Currently, the Yongsan base covers 660 acres in the heart of Seoul, South Korea. The Pentagon’s purpose for the relocation of the Yongsan Army Garrison is to “improve the quality of life for the U.S. soldiers, to improve the effectiveness of the U.S. military by increasing the distance from North Korea’s artillery range that is heavily fortified along the DMZ.”¹⁰² In addition, base relocation to Pyongtaek city is an “important part of the U.S. effort to lower its profile in South Korea and thereby making it more sustainable politically.”¹⁰³ Relocating the U.S. military base to the city of Pyongtaek will provide more land, a better quality of life for the soldiers and increase the distance from the DMZ.

2. Wartime Operational Control

The current military structure in South Korea consists of United States Forces of Korea (USFK), Combined Forces Command (CFC) and the United Nations Command (UNC). The primary mission of the UNC, USFK and CFC is to defend the Republic of Korea against external aggression and to maintain peace and stability in East Asia.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Barbara Demick. The world; South Korean forces clash with protesters over future U.S. Base *Los Angeles Times*, May 5, 2006.

¹⁰² Demick 2006.

¹⁰³ Demick 2006.

¹⁰⁴ United States Forces of Korea <http://www.usfk.mil/usfk/commandersintent/current.pdf>.

The commander of the USFK and CFC has always been a general officer from the United States military. According to Cha, since the establishment of the USFK during the Eisenhower administration, “the traditional rationale for the United States holding operational command authority was not just for enhanced defensive-fighting efficiency but also to keep a leash on unilateral offensive acts by the South Koreans.”¹⁰⁵ Since the 1990s, there have been multiple considerations of revising the military rank structure to shift the wartime operational control to the South Korean leaders.



Figure 12. Map of Camp Humphreys located in the City of Pyongtaek

Shifting wartime operational control to the South Korean leaders will limit the United States forces in South Korea to a supporting role in time of conflict on the Korean Peninsula. With the increasing capabilities of the South Korean military and the increasing international commitments by the United States, in 2004, the annual security consultative meeting (SCM) between the United States defense secretary and South Korea’s minister of defense has officially agreed to turn over wartime operational control

¹⁰⁵ Victor D. Cha. Focus on the future, not the north. *The Washington Quarterly* 2002: 100.

to the South Korea leaders by 2012. Under the new agreement, “the United States will continue to operate high-tech surveillance and aircraft systems, to help the South Korean military deter threats from North Korea.”¹⁰⁶

The base reallocations, shift in wartime operational control by 2012, and decreasing U.S. forces in South Korea will change the security alliance between the United States and South Korea. Today, South Korea has a capable military and is able to carry out military operations without the command and control structure of the United States. However, South Korea will continue to depend on the United States for defense weapons and technologies. In addition, South Koreans view North Korea as less threatening since the end of the Cold War. Thus, the perception of the United States military in South Korea appears less important to the Koreans. While the United States maintains its hawkish approach to denuclearize North Korea, South Korea has engaged North Korea with more carrots and fewer sticks during the terms of the last two presidents, who were both from the liberal and progressive parties in the South Korean government (the current President of South Korea elected in 2008 is from the conservative party and more in line with the Bush Administration). Overall, the changes on the Korean Peninsula, such as the decreasing threat of North Korea, decreasing role of the United States, and increasing independence of South Korea will lead to a change in the security alliance between the United States and South Korea.

B. SOURCES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM

In addition to the sources of anti-Americanism mentioned in chapters II, III and IV, Kent Calder also explains his perspective of the anti-American sentiment in South Korea, “the most influential anti-American sentiment in South Korea is the transition to competitive party politics in 1988 and the rapid expansion of the activities of nongovernmental organizations.”¹⁰⁷ According to Calder, “South Korea had the most rapid increase in protest activism in the world from the early 1980s until the early 1990s,

¹⁰⁶ Hamm 2007.

¹⁰⁷ Steinberg 2005, 28.

more than twice as Japan.”¹⁰⁸ Anti-Americanism in South Korea is very much alive and freely expressed by the people, the media and the left-leaning parties in the South Korean government. Although South Korea’s anti-Americanism may appear intense, it is not drastically different from the anti-Americanism that is present throughout the world. In previous chapters, Shin’s perspective and PEW research indicated that anti-Americanism is prevalent in all parts of the globe and it derives from policy differences and ideologies. Specifically, anti-Americanism in South Korea is best explained by Katherine Moon, “Washington has failed to take into account the profound changes that have taken place in the nature of South Korean politics and society. Failure to understand these new democratic dynamics has contributed to increase tension in South Korea.”¹⁰⁹ Anti-Americanism in South Korea is a sign of maturing democracy.

However, the ideological movement of anti-Americanism in South Korea is part of the reason for the changes in the alliance between South Korea and the United States, such as the base relocations, transfer of wartime operational control, and the security posture towards North Korea. In addition, the changes in the ROK/U.S. alliance also reflect the shift in the national interests of both countries. The United States has been increasing its international commitments, which now include dealing with two arduous battles against terrorism in Iraq and Afghanistan, humanitarian aid in South Asia and Africa, Darfur’s genocide, piracy in West Africa, drug wars in South America, global climate change, and economic difficulties. Due to the deep involvement of the United States in world affairs, the U.S. is inclined to take a global perspective and not focus on one country. On the other hand, dynamic changes in South Korea include maturing democracy, economic prosperity, strengthening military and demographic changes. Overall, South Korea is becoming more and more independent and South Korea’s interests are tailored towards domestic and not international concerns. Therefore, anti-Americanism has been a huge factor in the changes in the ROK/U.S. alliance, but not the overall driver of the changes in the alliance.

¹⁰⁸ Steinberg 2005, 28.

¹⁰⁹ Moon 2004, 41.

In regards to the SOFA related incidents and the increase of anti-Americanism, Americans serving overseas need better understanding and education about cultural differences. Americans have experienced a long global dominance in the twentieth century. In the twenty-first century, this global dominance will be shared with the rise of China, India, Russia and Brazil (also known as the BRICs). The rise of these four countries will change all realms of the globalization process. Global demand for energy will continue to accelerate and the resources available will be limited. The United States has already begun to feel the effects of the increase in global demand, with the rise of energy and food prices. In addition, in the twenty-first century, it will be difficult for the United States to establish new SOFA similar to the ones established in South Korea and Japan. Currently, Iraq and the United States are negotiating the Status of Forces Agreement. With certainty, establishment of the SOFA will indicate a pro-longed period of the U.S. forces in Iraq, even if they are not in an active combat role. The importance of the SOFA related incidents and the increase of anti-Americanism in Japan and South Korea should be considered for the SOFA in Iraq, because the jurisprudence in Muslim cultures is stricter than the west. Islamic laws are stricter than the laws in South Korea and Japan. It is highly doubtful that the current U.S. SOFA in South Korea and Japan would be appropriate in Iraq.

C. SOLUTIONS

South Koreans need to understand the strategic importance of the U.S. service members stationed in South Korea and the stipulations of the SOFA. U.S. service members stationed in South Korea are thousands of miles away from their homeland, to defend a foreign country from a foreign threat. In reference to the accidental death of the two schoolgirls, Choi explains:

If American service members deserved to be tried by the South Korean courts for a traffic accident that occurred while on duty, would that mean the Koreans would allow Korean military members serving in East Timor to be tried in local courts if they were involved in a similar accident?¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ Steinberg 2005, 309.

Resolving the problems that arise from the SOFA incidents is a two-way street. Both Americans and Koreans must make an equal effort to understand the cultural differences and the overall purpose of the U.S. military stationed in South Korea.

To combat global terrorism, to resolve conflicts in forward deployed military bases, and to better relations with the international community, the United States Department of Defense (DoD) has revamped its foreign area officer (FAO) training programs and implemented the human terrain system (HTS). “DoD is training their soldiers to become regional experts, with detailed understanding in cultures, religion and politics.”¹¹¹ Rather than flexing one dimension of military power, “integrating regional experts for nation-building, mentorship, policy skills, political-military skills came to the forefront to win the hearts and minds of the people is an important strategy.”¹¹²

The human terrain system (HTS) is a newly implemented program by the U.S. Army to “improve the military’s ability to understand the highly complex local socio-cultural environment in the areas where they are deployed.”¹¹³

HTS was developed in response to identified gaps in commanders’ and staffs’ understanding of the local population and culture, and its impact on operational decisions; and poor transfer of specific socio-cultural knowledge to follow-on units. The HTS approach is to place the expertise and experience of social scientists and regional experts, coupled with reach-back, open-source research, directly in support of deployed units engaging in full-spectrum operations. HTS informs decision making at the tactical, operational and strategic levels. The HTS program is the first time that social science research and advising has been done systematically, on a large scale, and at the brigade level.¹¹⁴

It is quite fascinating and almost unbelievable that the United States agreed with the Soviet Union to divide the Korean Peninsula in two following the Second World War. When the Southern States of the United States attempted to secede from the Union, millions of Americans from the North and South fought for unity and freedom. Over half

¹¹¹ Army revamps foreign area officer program. 2006. *Defense Daily* 231, July 19: 1.

¹¹² Army revamps foreign area officer program. 2006. *Defense Daily* 231, July 19: 1.

¹¹³ Human Terrain System <http://humanterrainsystem.army.mil/default.htm>.

¹¹⁴ Human Terrain System <http://humanterrainsystem.army.mil/default.htm>.

a million American lives were lost to preserve the United States as one. Following the U.S. Civil War, Americans in the North and South struggled for several decades while recovering from the war. Having experienced devastation from a civil war of its own, dividing a foreign land that has several thousand years of history would seem completely unthinkable. In this sense, the United States should be empathetic to the anti-American sentiment in South Korea. On the other hand, over 36,000 American lives were lost to provide freedom for the South Korean people during the Korean War. “Freedom is certainly not free.” The United States has sacrificed greatly to promote and to preserve freedom around the world. South Koreans should think twice before protesting against the United States.

In the past two decades, anti-Americanism in South Korea was the most intense in 2002 to 2003. South Korean citizens’ frustration over the SOFA related incident and the antipathy of U.S. foreign policy towards North Korea escalated anti-Americanism in South Korea. From the three independent variables that were presented in this thesis, democratization of the South Korean government, although important, would be the least significant factor behind the rise of anti-Americanism. The most crucial source of anti-Americanism in South Korea derived from the SOFA related incidents and U.S. foreign policy. These are the most common sources of anti-Americanism throughout the world. Nonetheless, the rise of anti-Americanism from these two sources can be resolved by understanding the cultural differences and integrating soft power into U.S. foreign policy. Recent adjustments in U.S. foreign policy and the pro-American advocates in South Korea have improved the image of the United States from its lowest in 2003. With the continuous effort to minimize anti-Americanism in South Korea, the future of ROK/US alliance will remain strong and will continue to secure the Korean Peninsula and East Asia.

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